

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

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APRIL, 1885

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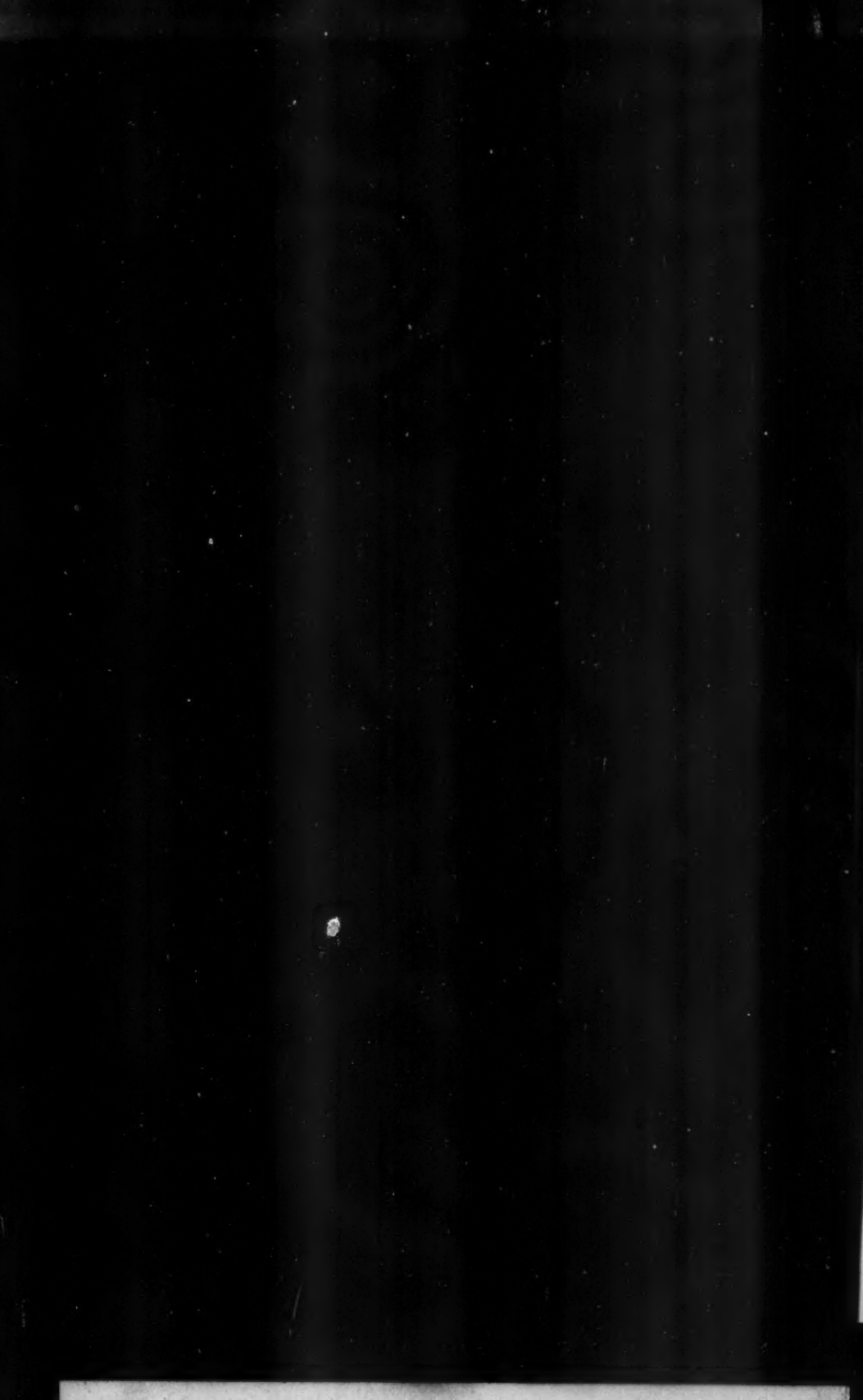
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THE
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VOL. III. — APRIL, 1885. — No. XVI.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE PULPIT.

DR. NEWMAN SMYTH'S SERMONS TO WORKINGMEN.

THE sermons of Dr. Smyth upon industrial questions with special reference to the claims of labor, which are to be published in three successive numbers of the "Review," appear upon its pages partly because they are sermons. It is believed that something of value has been added to the discussion of the labor question by its treatment in this form. The introduction of the subject into the pulpit, in consistency with the aim of the sermon, and in connection with the ordinary ministrations of the place, and before the usual congregation in attendance—the sermons were preached at the morning service of the church—has given a moral significance to the discussion quite beyond that which has been gained by any presentation through the press or upon the platform.

The First or Center Church of New Haven, Conn., is widely known as one of the historic churches of the country. The congregation as now composed represents not only a large inherited religious and social life; it represents also a large amount of active capital and of industrial enterprise. The congregation is not scholastic to the exclusion of the great business interests. In the audience which listened to these sermons there were presidents and managers of railroads, manufacturers, bankers, merchants, employers of labor, and capitalists. Into a congregation thus made up there came for three Sabbaths and in increasing numbers workingmen from the different establishments of the city, and representing the different labor organizations. They were of various nationalities and of various types of social opinion and of religious belief or unbelief. Some socialists and positivists were present, and not a few men who had lost all religious faith and hope. They came informally and mingled naturally with the regular congregation.

The customary service was in no respect changed, and, it need hardly be added, it was followed with attention and reverence.

These sermons had their immediate origin in a request from several workingmen, who had been attracted by the incidental references of Dr. Smyth to social problems, that he would discuss directly those questions in which they were concerned through their relation to labor and to labor organizations. The request involved in its acceptance some manifest embarrassments, but it seemed unmanly and unwise for a Christian minister to attempt to ignore or evade such a request when made in good faith. It was, therefore, accepted, not without deliberation, but unhesitatingly. There was little or no consultation with the church or with those representing the socialistic organizations. It was assumed that the church would acknowledge the rightfulness of the proposed discussion within its pulpit, and would welcome to its hospitality all who might be concerned in the questions at issue; and it was assumed that any workingmen who might come, however extreme might be their social theories, would give a candid and patient hearing to the discussion. And the result fully justified both assumptions.

Of the effect which attended the preaching of this series of sermons to workingmen, this much may now be said: Something was very evidently accomplished by bringing together classes separated, not simply by social habits, but still more by habits of thought and belief. The presence of each class was to the other a moral object lesson. A silent sermon of duty and of charity was preached on each Sabbath, very possibly of quite as much influence as that uttered by the preacher, and a way was hopefully opened for further personal contact between thinking Christian men and intelligent mechanics and artisans. Furthermore, questions of actual and immediate social concern were fully and fairly stated. And nothing removes prejudice or awakens the spirit of coöperation like the willingness to enter into the discussion of matters concerning which there may be hostile opinions. The claims of labor, its grievances, had a clear and sympathetic statement in unusual and favorable circumstances; and, on the other hand, the sophistries of many of the proposed solutions of the labor problem, and the difficulties attending any real and far-reaching settlement of the question, were as clearly and as seriously set forth. Further still, it was shown that Christianity, through the church, does make account of *present* ills and *present* inequalities. The complaint is often made that the church does not care for these

things, or that the ministry does not dare to discuss them; that it is easier to preach the amends of heaven than it is to preach justice upon earth. The sermons before us neutralized this complaint. The gospel which they preached was not that of unworthy contentment and resignation, but rather the gospel of justice, of effort, of mutual obligation and helpfulness.

Let me not, however, anticipate the thought or method of the sermons. The readers of the "Review" will see for themselves with what breadth and fairness, with what force and skill, and, above all, with what genuineness of purpose Dr. Smyth addressed himself to his task.

I wish to add to these introductory words two or three brief but urgent suggestions respecting the relation of the church to the labor question and to workingmen. The labor question is more than a question of economics. It comes legitimately within the sphere of applied Christianity. For it has its human side. The attempt to settle the question simply upon the "humanities" does, indeed, carry it over into the region of sentimentalism. But the attempt to settle it regardless of the "humanities" simply surrenders and sacrifices all that is human to an arbitrary and mechanical conception of social law. What is the law of labor, or of production, or of supply and demand to which the problem must be referred? Is it the law of gravitation? Is it, like that, something absolute and unalterable, working independent of all human conditions? Such would seem to be the theory of those who look with contempt upon all approaches to the question from the human and Christian side. But the plain fact is that the law of labor or production has been continually adjusting itself to the human conditions of the problem. The reduction of the hours of labor, the withdrawal of children of school age from productive work, the legal requirements insuring the larger safety and comfort of operatives, were all resisted as infringements of the law in question, but they have become a recognized part of the law. And it is altogether absurd to suppose that the law has been stretched to its utmost elasticity, or to suppose that the human requirements of the case have been fully satisfied.

Doubtless many thoughtful and refined persons are shocked by what seems to them the hard and gross secularism of the advocates of labor reform. Many of their utterances are harsh, fierce, irreverent. The compensations of the spiritual life are ignored. The consolations of religion are derided. Heaven is put by with

contempt as any substitute for earthly blessing. But we are to remember in our estimate of such opinions that Christianity would wear a very different aspect if it came to any of us with the offer of nothing but heaven. In other ages it might have been otherwise; but not so to-day. Christianity is not now apprehended through the sentiment of other-worldliness. It represents to so many the enlargement, the enrichment, the improvement of this life that the question is a fair one, Why not to all? The very things which awaken envy in those who are deprived of them, — the securities and refinements of the home, — are the creation of Christianity. And if Christians would not surrender these, let them not wonder at the fierce demand and the hot struggle on the part of others for the things which lie this side of heaven. Secularism is a feature of present Christianity. The church of to-day believes in the use and in the enjoyment of worldly advantages. The inconsistency, therefore, is most glaring whenever the church fails to acknowledge the naturalness or the lawfulness of the desire of the laboring classes for the betterment of their social condition. The spirit of this desire may be wrong. It often is. The method proposed for gratifying it may be unlawful and violent. The whole theory supporting it may be crude, extravagant, impossible. But the desire itself determines largely the present type of social progress, and affects in no slight degree the present development of Christianity.

The sermons of Dr. Smyth were addressed to workingmen. The form of address recognizes the presence of a distinct social class. The workingman is the man who works for wages; the man, also, whose work is related to that of other men as the part of some complicated whole. These two conditions, which define the workingman and separate him from other workers, create another condition. They afford the opportunity for combinations, and are supposed to make them necessary. The workingman is almost always to be found as a unit under some combination. He belongs to some organization which, to a greater or less degree, determines his wages, controls his movements, and affects indirectly his opinions and beliefs. I am not now, however, concerned with the legal or even moral bearing of trades-unions and socialistic organizations. The thought which I wish to emphasize is, that whatever may be their necessity or value to the workingman, they are making him more and more inaccessible to the ordinary influences of the church. They make it more and more difficult to reach him as an individual. They throw up intrench-

ments around him which are really so many defenses against Christianity as represented in the church. Here, I think, may be found one reason for the arrest of the growth of the Protestant churches at industrial centres. For long time the growth was so vigorous that it far more than made good the loss from the decline of the church in the rural communities. But of late there has been little expansion of the church at the old industrial centres, while in some cases there has been an actual contraction, through the surrender of a church organization or through the union of one church with another. I am satisfied that the full explanation of this arrested growth is not to be found in the change of population, — the reason so commonly given as a complete answer. Other reasons may be discovered, and among them the failure of the church to reach all of the *available* population. Whole classes in society, not large now but growing, are quietly ignoring the church, and the church simply assumes that the population is no longer available for the growth of Methodism or Congregationalism or some other form of denominationalism. Without doubt this assumption is true, but the fact remains that the population is still available for Christianity, and still accessible under the right methods of approach. Manifestly, the methods now in use, like the Sabbath-school and the mission, which have done and are doing so remarkable a work within their limits, are insufficient to the new demands. If the workingman, for example, will not come to the church through its ordinary solicitations, let the church go to the workingman. Man is always above institutions. This is the cardinal principle of Christianity. Let the church, then, go to the workingman, meet him on his own ground, listen, if need be, to his grievances, and recognize his right to open discussion and his capacity for it. *Let him choose his own subject.* If he is not disposed to consider the claims of personal religion, let him understand the willingness of the church to discuss any serious question in the Christian spirit and according to the Christian method. The work is not one of sentiment. It is rather one of justice, of intelligence, of sympathy. It involves discussion, but it gives contact. And to attempt this work is not to meddle unwisely with economic questions. It is not to interfere with the proper relations of capital and labor. It is to do precisely what the church is authorized and obligated to do, specially through its ministry, wherever the opportunity invites. There are honorable precedents for such work. It is to do, under changed conditions, what Maurice and

Robertson, Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes attempted and accomplished in behalf of the workingmen with whom they entered into honorable and intimate personal relations.

We have to thank Dr. Smyth for having given so effective an illustration of one method of opening up connection between the church and workingmen. Many are now speaking and writing concerning the necessity and method of such work on the part of the church, as I am now doing. He is attempting it. And the sermons which follow are in part the expression of this endeavor.

Wm. J. Tucker.

SERMON I. CLAIMS OF LABOR.

Much food is in the tillage of the poor : but there is that is destroyed for want of judgment. *Proverbs* xiii. 23.

SOME incidental allusions to social problems which have been dropped from this pulpit have brought back to me from several workingmen the expression of a desire that I should discuss directly certain industrial questions which are fast coming to the front among the great questions of our age. Any subject in which a number of human beings are vitally interested has a just claim to candid and thoughtful consideration in any Christian church, and I know of no pulpit in the land which should be more freely opened to the discussion of living social questions than this pulpit, which nearly two hundred and forty-six years ago was established, not far from this spot, for the cause of equal civil fellowship, as well as of religious faith and liberty. Upon the same day, and in the same act by which our fathers founded this church, they abrogated the English law of entail, by which the monopoly of land in England has been maintained, and adopted the Hebrew law by which estates were to be divided among many heirs, and a check was thus put upon the vast accumulation of property in the hands of a few families. Remembering that from its first establishment throughout its history this pulpit has been true to human rights and social justice, I do not hesitate, amid the worthiest associations of this place, to turn aside for a few Sabbaths from the ordinary ministry of the Word for the sake of inviting up the broad aisle of this church to a respectful hearing, — and, I trust, candid discussion in this pulpit, — certain industrial ideas and socialistic sentiments which have been born of want and wrong in the world

without, — which, though mocked and scourged of men, have persisted in living for the past hundred years, — which shall never be put down by mere force, — and which can be prevented from becoming disturbing factors in civilization only as they shall be settled right in social justice and economic truth.

Professor Jevons, in concluding his discussion of "The State in Relation to Labour," remarks: "The subject is one in which we need above all things — discrimination" (p. 165). In the beginning, and through the middle, and at the end of all discussion of the mutual obligations and rights of men in a free state, we shall do well to keep in mind this first need of discrimination. I have purposely chosen, therefore, as a text for our present consideration of some of these matters that word of the wise man: "There is that is destroyed for want of judgment." Indiscriminate denunciations only aggravate existing evils. Indiscriminate judgments visited by one class upon another do not serve the cause of law and order. If, on the one hand, any manufacturers should wish to condemn indiscriminately the claims of labor and labor organizations, they would thereby very likely only add fuel to human passions which it is not for the well-being of any of us to have inflamed; and if, on the other hand, any workingman has come here expecting me to denounce indiscriminately the powers that be, let me tell him beforehand that he will be disappointed; and if he respects his own reason, he should be the first to resent from any man on his behalf the easy hypocrisy of intemperate speech.

The need of careful discrimination meets us upon our first approach to these subjects; for, I presume, should I begin with the word socialism, nine out of ten even of intelligent people would have in their minds an uncomfortable suspicion of anarchy, revolution, and dynamite. But if I wished to argue with the anarchists, or to find words in which to rebuke the tactics of violence, I might quote from "*Der Sozialist*," the official organ of the socialists in New York; or from the columns of the "*Volkszeitung*," the organ of the labor party; or I might read a circular dated January 29th, issued by the National Executive Committee of the socialists, whom the New York police were unable to discriminate from the anarchists who disturbed their meeting, in which they condemn the works of the Irish dynamiters in language as plain as our House of Representatives will ever be likely to adopt.

The fact is that the word socialism is as elastic as a rubber band, and divers opinions have been included within it. Hence a leading German historian of socialism begins his account of it

with a reference to the laws of Moses and Lycurgus. He pronounces Christ to be the first international socialist, and up to the present time the greatest. Isaiah and the prophets might be called socialistic in their denunciations of growing land monopolies in Judah and Israel. Plato's "Republic" is socialistic. A Roman Catholic bishop has advocated a socialistic scheme in the name of the Church; the Protestant clergymen, Maurice and Charles Kingsley, in spite of no little obloquy, called themselves Christian Socialists; there have been professional socialists, Sweet-Water Socialists, as they were nicknamed in Germany, Socialists of the Chair; Prince Bismarck has put forth some socialistic ideas of legislation; and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, of the English cabinet, in a recent speech at Ipswich, advanced views tinged with some socialistic color concerning the interference of local authorities for the better distribution of property in land.¹ The post office illustrates a socialistic idea of state management of business; our Sunday laws are socialistic in their regulation of private enterprise for one day in the week; a prohibitory liquor law is decidedly socialistic in its abolition of the principle of competition in the liquor business, and in its attempt to invest the management of that business for the good of all solely in the state. Much self-denying and noble sentiment, as well as envious and base feeling, has gone by the despised name of socialist in the world. Before taking fright, therefore, at a word, if any man calls himself a socialist, we should quietly ask what he means, and what exactly is his idea of social regeneration. Violence and thunder are not necessarily connoted by that more restricted and proper use of the word socialism, by which is denoted a democratic state which shall own the instruments of production, superintend all industries, and make all men virtuous and happy. Modern socialists, broadly speaking, are divided into two classes. The "International Working People's Association" in this country represents a radical and revolutionary socialism. Our New Haven internationalists number not over a hundred, but they indulge in the somewhat costly luxury of printing a weekly newspaper as the organ of their faction. They are called anarchists, and by anarchy they mean the abolition of all superior government; of all government, that is to say, above that of free communal or township associations, with possible further federation of these social groups by free contract. These internationalists abstain from politics,

¹ Mr. Chamberlain, in reply to criticisms of the press, disclaimed sympathy with Henry George's views of land.

wait for the industrial revolution which they tell me is sure to come ere long of itself, and there is much violence in their talk.

The socialists of the other wing, on the contrary, the "Socialistic Labor Party," favor political agitation, the organization of labor for political ends, and an immense enlargement of the powers of the state in the interest of the working class. Their tactics, as proclaimed by their official organ in New York, are not a foolish exchange of tools for weapons, but "improvement of the condition of the working class through a working party which shall be possessed with the consciousness of its class." I notice these distinctions between different kinds and degrees of socialism partly because it is only just that we should make them, and that we should not follow the hurtful example of some of our leading journals in condemning alike the dangerous and the harmless elements among social agitators and dreamers. And, furthermore, society needs to keep cool even in the presence of dynamite, and not to exaggerate the explosive power of evil under free institutions.

The chief danger is not that a few fiends let loose from the hell of the sins of civilization shall suddenly blow up the works of ages of progress, but it is rather that actual wrongs shall be pent up beneath our civilization and not ventilated in open discussion; and thus what if exposed to the free air and the sunlight might have been harmless shall slowly gather destructive energy, and become a menace to our social order. Let society have a hand of steel for criminals, and hold them, if necessary, in its close grip until they shall be still; but let it have an open and fair hand for all men who ask for their proper share in the advancement of mankind. They that take the sword against society shall perish by the sword, and they who in their wild schemes aid and abet murderers of existing civilization can be best reasoned with by the police; but denunciations of violence which excite violence are themselves criminal; and from fear of the wild wrath of a few delirious agitators we should not lose for one moment our love of fair play among all men, but we should be the more determined to search out and to order for all classes that which is economically right and socially honorable and just.

In attempting to discuss social problems and the claims of labor, let me come to a distinct understanding with my hearers as to what I do not propose to do. I assume without argument that there is an increasing social problem involved in the industrial development of society in this so-called capitalistic era of the world. A new department of literature has grown up almost

within our memory, which may be classified as the literature of social discontent. One might fill a department of a library with the volumes and periodicals of this literature of social discontent. So much literature of social discontent we may be sure could not spring up without cause. Envy and evil of all kinds may enter into it and swell its volume, but the existence of the literature, and its persistence, are sufficient to show that there are some vital causes for its appearance. I cannot find that there is much developed socialistic thinking among American workingmen at present, but there is a great deal of socialistic feeling among the masses. What shall come of it is a question in which all classes are concerned. A workingman writes me that he was put into a factory when a child, forced to work ten hours a day for twenty cents a day, among other pale little wretches as unfortunate as himself, amid the foul and sickening odors of a close and crowded shop, hopeless and despairing; and he asks me how such men as he are to learn self-respect and to assert their manhood. "That manhood," he writes, "is worth all the rest; fire that into their hearts more, and more, and more; not dynamite is needed, but self-respect; but fail in that, and dynamite will voice the delirious demand."

I assume that there is a social question. There always has been one. Mankind has made progress through the struggle of classes. But this industrial problem, whose increasing and even ominous importance I assume, I do not propose to discuss in all its phases, or with any attempt at scientific completeness. He who tries to learn will repeatedly discover how little he knows in any science, and particularly in the study of that vast complexity of forces and laws which make up human life. The phenomena of industrial civilization are so multiform, the laws of social economies are so occult, the forces which balance themselves in any existing status of human affairs work from directions so diverse, and often from distances so historic, that some humility of judgment and severe caution of speech are required for their profitable discussion, as well as an ear and a heart open and sympathetic towards the wants of men and the cries of the world for help. And where special and lifelong studies are hardly sufficient to enable one to grasp the conditions and laws of a great vital problem, there surely both clergymen and social reformers, advocates of the rights of the people and leaders in workingmen's clubs, and all who, in sympathy with any class, or from a general enthusiasm for humanity, would hasten the world on to a better era, will do well to be

sober in their speech, to look all around before they act, and to go somewhat slowly in their legislative reforms, lest they destroy more than they can build up, from lack of judgment. I shall certainly not attempt, therefore, in these discourses, to propound any new theory of the law of wages or to work out any fine scheme of "the economic harmonies;" with less presumptuous aim, I shall seek, at least, to look in the face doubtful or evil facts, to apply a few plain principles to existing social conditions, and, if possible, to gain from any source, high or low, some light in which we may see more clearly how through our own conduct and business to make the sum of human evil less, and to help the good grow.

Again let it be distinctly understood that I do not propose to preach to workingmen any generalities about human fraternity. To many men who have not seen much human brotherhood down in their part of the world, preaching human brotherhood would be like descanting on the viands of a feast to a hungry man. Yet, nevertheless, there is a truth of human brotherhood which ought to be believed in, and there is a gospel of love to be preached up and down through the whole world. Over the door of one of the wealthier churches of New York have been cut in the stone these words: "The poor have the gospel preached to them." Some one passing by that door wrote beneath those words: "Only not here." Yet could that man who, in I know not what bitterness of soul, wrote those words of biting wit upon that church door have seen what one night I saw, — could he have seen in one of the worst quarters of New York, in a comfortable room, many workingmen and their families receiving from the pastor of a costly "up-town" church, and from one of its wealthiest members, the bread and the wine which we still hold sacred as the emblems of a universal love; could he have seen the genuine and self-respecting equality which I was permitted to see upon that floor — an equality which could be self-respecting because it was the recognition of one common and higher life, — then I doubt whether that man who wrote his bitter satire upon that church door would not in simple honesty have at least written beneath it these further words: "But things human are often better than they seem. God may be love!" But of what may be said of the brotherhood of all men under the fatherhood of God let me speak on every fitting occasion to my own people; I will not now mock with what may seem a vain word any workingman who may be willing to listen to me. I leave that to the demagogues.

Again, I shall not in this discussion argue directly in defense

of the Christian religion, or ask any favor of any man for the Christian church. I recognize the fact that a great many men and women in our factories and workshops have lost their interest in God because they see nothing in the circumstances of their lives to make them think that there is a living God interested in them. "It is not," said one of them, "that we have become atheists; we have simply done with God." Many men have done with God because in the hardships of their lot they have felt in bitterness of spirit that God had done with them. That was an irreverent sarcasm, yet one which may set us thinking, which I once saw in a German illustrated paper, in which a peasant woman was represented as bidding her daughter good-by at the window of a third-class car, and as she commended the poor girl to God, a man standing by answered, "He does not travel third-class now!" Whether anything in our presentation of Christianity to the world has given occasion for such misunderstanding of the Father in Heaven among the poor I do not care now to pause to consider. I simply recognize the fact that a large number of working-people have come to look upon our Christianity almost with the enmity which they would feel toward a friend who had deserted them. "Christianity," said one of these men last week, — "the system is one of rewards for Christian resignation, when the real thing to teach is an uprising and demanding of a fair share of the products. You will not catch the minister preaching that!" I shall return to the demand implied in that by and by; I ask now of no workingman who may be within reach of my voice any more consideration for my words as a professed teacher of religion than there may be reason in them. I am perfectly conscious that anything which a minister can say is at once discounted in the minds of many men to-day by their distrust of the ministry as a class. Of the ministers in general the New Haven anarchists are kind enough to say to the people: "While they fatten on high salaries, which you are foolish enough to pay, they admonish you to bear your burdens in patience. They make you believe that a Divine Providence has decreed your pitiable condition. These hired tools of capital" — and so on. I might, indeed, did I wish to argue the matter, contend that socialism is not necessarily irreligious, some of its chief prophets and apostles themselves being witness. I might quote from the leading historian as well as advocate of the "Emancipation Conflict of the Fourth Estate" in Germany, who declares: "It is to me incomprehensible how those national economists who have been occupied with the history of

socialism have not adduced the evidence that all earnest socialism takes root in Christianity, and follows tendencies which lie grounded in the Christian religion."¹ But it is not now my purpose to reason about Christianity. There are many of us who still believe in the Christian's creed. That creed has outlived many revolutions, and we are not anxious for its future. We believe Christian truth to be able-bodied, and, if we let it go forth freely in the world, we can trust it to take care of itself. That ancient creed which we still believe, it would be dishonesty and cowardice for any man of us, in any presence, or for any cause, to conceal or to deny. No minister would be worthy any man's confidence should he not preach both to the rich and the poor, before any power of this world, or in behalf of every wrong, that gospel of a Divine friendship and righteousness which he believes to be the hope of the world. And probably the ministry as a distinct calling and class in society will not cease to exist until, through good report and evil report, in abundance or in want, this gospel of the Cross shall have been preached throughout the world. But with this declaration and understanding, I shall not seek in this discourse concerning labor to impose my own belief upon any man, but only ask for my Christian faiths such consideration as at any point of their application to social problems they may show themselves entitled to receive.

Furthermore, and in particular, I do not propose to meet any present wants just now by preaching a religion of future comforts for all weary souls in some other world. I do not propose to meet men who tell me that this world is a purgatory to them by preaching merely a future heaven. I believe, indeed, that the hereafter has much to do with the present, as well as the present with the hereafter. A Russian convict left these words of advice scratched upon the walls of his cell: "There is no heaven and there is no hell; therefore all ye rascals grab what you can, only don't get grabbed yourselves." I will not insist that the convict's premises lead necessarily to the rascal's conclusion; but while as an observer of human affairs I must recognize as one persistent social force the power in the thoughts of men of the life to come, I shall endeavor in this discourse to accept the conditions of those who would have the ministry deal with present and palpable facts. There are, indeed, troubles of life to which one must preach some gospel of the kingdom of heaven, or be silent. But I should beg some questions which have been asked me should I assume

¹ R. Meyer, *Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes*, i., p. 13.

that all social inequalities and disadvantages are natural evils to be endured, or mysterious providential decrees to which men, women, and children should be obediently sacrificed. I admit that all men have reason to look for a Messiah for this life as well as for the life to come.

And once more, — for these explicit preliminary statements are necessary to a fair hearing and understanding between us, — I do not propose to hide any question of social right or wrong under the cover of the charity of the church. Charities, however well meant or helpful, are not arguments to men who are smarting under any grievance, real or imagined. If, for example, a manufacturer doing a profitable business pays a woman less money for making shirts than is sufficient to maintain life upon the cheapest food during the time which she must give for her pittance of wages, and if then some Christian church comes in and ekes out her earnings with its charity, it is a fair question in political economy whether that charity is a contribution to that woman, or to the profits of the manufacturer. We do not like to take up collections in church for the benefit of any employer; and if poor men say to us: We are going for social justice minus your pity rather than for patient endurance of wrong plus your Christian charity — then I do not care to argue that point against any instinct of their manhood. Only the fundamental question remains: What is social justice? What in the present industrial development of this world is economically right, and what is wrong?

Seeking further light upon this question, and having now done with these preliminaries, let us consider next the complaints against the present state and tendencies of things which may be gathered from the socialistic literature as well as from conversations with workingmen. I shall not presume to include all; I shall enumerate such as seem to me to be worthy serious thought. First: It is said that the interest of the laborer in the product of his work has been reduced to an unjust minimum under the present principle of competition, and that, consequently, although the condition of workingmen may be absolutely better than it was a hundred years ago, as a class they are not receiving their fair share in the advance of civilization. Second: The development of machinery, it is said, is separating the wage-workers into a permanent class, and making it more and more hopeless for factory operatives to rise out of that class. Formerly the mechanic owned his tools and his time, and, if he had the ability to set up for himself, it was not impossible to get some of the raw material upon which to

work ; but now the factory owns the tools, capital seizes upon the raw material, and the laborer's working power becomes a ware to be bought and sold in the market like any other commodity. Third : The minute divisions of labor and the uncertainty of steady work which result from excessive competition or over-production, it is contended, tend still further to the degradation of labor. Fourth : It is alleged that capital, massed and used as a unit of power, has immense advantage over whole classes of men, women, and children in the struggle of life. Fifth : It is feared that with the danger of corrupt class legislation, and under the increasing high pressure and grinding weight of social greed and luxury, the industrial conditions will grow worse rather than better, the strong will become stronger and the weak weaker, the rich richer and the poor poorer. The men who are at the bottom suffer for the sins of all higher up, and not for their own sins only. Adulteration of food, for instance, not to mention worse examples, brings most harm to the homes of the poor. The man at the bottom of the ladder leading up to the social heavens may yet dream that there is a ladder let down to him ; but the angels are not seen very often ascending and descending ; one after another, it would seem, some unseen yet hostile powers are breaking out the middle rungs of the ladder, and it becomes harder and harder even for the strong who are down to climb up. The man who started years ago with almost nothing upon a successful career would need, — it is asked, — how much more, under existing industrial conditions, in order to give his son as good a chance as he had in the world ?

To these complaints, which abound in the literature of modern discontent, I might add many particular grievances, such as arise in factories from bad air, — an evil, however, which even wealthy churches have not always succeeded in overcoming, — and also many incidental dangers to health, and needless discomforts under which work is carried on, as well as the petty injustice which sometimes creeps in through the lengthening distance between the workman and the office, — all of which grievances, as pertaining to individual cases and conditions, need not be considered by us in detail.

Of course any one who does not belong to the great host of wage-receivers may put these matters lightly aside, if he pleases ; but I believe that no one who reflects upon the immense industrial revolution which has been and is taking place will be disposed to treat lightly these fears and complaints. Every one who has any power of putting himself in another man's place will wish to

gain what light he can upon that which is right in his own conduct of his business. No one who realizes the fact that this world with all its wealth is as yet hardly a year ahead of the starvation-point for all its population, should all labor be interrupted, will fail to comprehend the fact that God has made all classes of men vitally dependent upon one another's labor on this earth; and any man who has any warm blood in his brains, or any baptism of the Spirit of Christ upon his soul, will earnestly desire to make his own work and his own prosperity more helpful to all his fellow-men.

I break off summarily at this point for to-day. I shall inquire next Sunday whether there are any facts or circumstances which should in fairness be set over against these claims and complaints just enumerated, and exactly where the trouble lies; and then we may pass to a consideration of some proposed remedial interferences with the present course of things, or look for any suggestions for the better management of our own conduct towards all men. As I break off in the midst of the question, I shall not add any closing exhortation. I simply ask, as in all fairness I have the right to ask, of any workingmen or socialistic sympathizers who may be present that if thus far they judge me disposed to listen candidly to their side of the case, although I am a Christian minister and am preaching in a church not reputed to be poor, with equal fairness they will come again, and hear me through.

Newman Smyth.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

THE MORAL PURPOSE OF THE LATER AMERICAN NOVEL.

THE literature of the two great Anglo-Saxon peoples has always had a tolerably clear idea that there is a necessary connection between art and ethics. It has contained many mischievous or frivolous books; it has wavered between the austerity of Bunyan and the license of the dramatists of the Restoration; it has been successively influenced by Norman-French, Italian, Latin, and Greek culture; but it has never lost sight of certain principles peculiarly its own. One of these principles is that a book should have a definite purpose, a real reason for being, if it expects a long life. This principle has not been lost even in the imaginative literature of England and America.

Before the novel, the poem afforded our intellectual ancestors their means of amusement; and in early English poetry the moral element was seldom lacking. The Anglo-Saxons found in the verse ascribed to Caedmon, in the paraphrase of Judith, and even in the non-Christian story of "Beowulf," stern expressions of the inevitableness of retribution and penalty. Like Miles Standish, they liked Old Testament wars better than New Testament peace, but their scanty literature was prized largely for its moral lessons. Later, in Robert of Gloucester's "Chronicle," in the grim and telling force of the satire in "Piers Plowman," and in the "Canterbury Tales," English readers amused themselves while they were getting advice, warning, and entreaty. "Piers Plowman," with its sharp distinctions between righteousness and hypocrisy, and the "Canterbury Tales," with their lifelike pictures of all classes of Englishmen, were in a true sense precursors of the English Reformation. They were novels in verse, but they were something more. Even the "Faerie Queene," with its cumbrous supernatural machinery, never let imagination hide the "XII. Morall Vertues." It was an Italian graft on the tough old English tree.

When fiction took the place of poetry, as an intellectual amusement, the same principle held good. To this day, the best-known work of imagination in English prose is a terribly earnest sermon. It so happened that the growth of the English novel began when English society and religion were once more in a degraded state, but in the indecency and coarseness of the novel of the eighteenth century there still appears something that is not French, not Italian, not Spanish. Robinson Crusoe is a moral Englishman abroad, who has changed his sky, not his disposition. Moralizing, if not morality, is not absent from the loose sayings of Sterne. Swift, in his malignant, half-insane way, at least had reforms in view. Fielding, like Chaucer and the author of "Piers Plowman," felt that accurate delineation was the precursor of a change for the better. Goldsmith's pictures of virtuous rural life are still beloved because, in Taine's phrase, the chief of them "unites and harmonizes in one character the best features of the manners and morals of the time and country, and creates an admiration and love for pious and orderly, domestic and disciplined, laborious and rural life; Protestant and English virtue has not a more approved and amiable exemplar." And Samuel Richardson, the precursor of the long-regnant school of sentimental novelists, spent his literary lifetime in showing that integrity and upright-

ness, even of the Grandisonian order, are more winsome than the vice of the "town" in the era of the Georges.

Something more than mere amusement, something behind the story, is still more evident in Scott, the Scheherezade of modern literature; in Dickens, promoting humanity and good fellowship, and attacking abuses in prisons, schools, law courts, and home-life; in Thackeray, tilting loyally against social shams; in saddened but brave Charlotte and Emily Brontë, amid the Yorkshire moors; in George Eliot, describing the Jew as she believed him to be in reality, doing justice to the stern righteousness of a Dinah Morris, or telling how Savonarola was a Protestant in spite of himself. Turning to America, we note, as in England, the almost total disappearance of the outward immorality which defiled British fiction a hundred years ago, and which still disgraces French fiction; and more than this, we find positive qualities, and a belief that story-telling is something more than story-telling. Irving feels with the heart of humanity; Cooper, like Scott, magnifies the chivalric virtues, under new skies; and Hawthorne goes to the depths of the soul in his search for the basal principles of human action. Lesser writers, like Mrs. Stowe, make fiction a moral engine; and still lesser ones, to borrow the words of a witty friend, owe great popularity to the fact that they are "so sensational as to be entertaining, and so pious that they can be read on Sunday."

What does all this mean? Does it mean, in Whittier's phrase, that English and American literature thinks its sole function to "turn the crank of an opinion-mill?" Is a book great because its moral purpose is sound, or is all literature bad as art and literature if it lacks the most righteous purpose? Not at all; neither does it mean that Anglo-Saxon literature has a monopoly of righteousness and purpose. It means, as we have said, that this literature has insisted more strongly than others upon the necessary connection between art *and* ethics; that it has never prized injurious or profitless external, soulless beauty; and that, so long as the world can be made better by literature, book-makers can and ought to help. Between two books of equal literary merit, but of unequal purpose, it gives greater and more lasting favor to the more useful book. It believes, with the American poet who is usually considered our chief apostle of the merely beautiful, that "taste holds intimate relations with the intellect and the moral sense." Whether it is right or wrong in this general idea, it is certain that any change in it, whether wrought by believers in

"art for art's sake," by pseudo-Greek poets in 1885, by "cosmic" bards who sometimes confuse right and wrong, or by strictly "realistic" novelists, will change a principle in accord with which the race has acted for ten centuries.

What is to be understood by the term "realistic," now so much in vogue, as applied to later American writers of fiction? Defoe was an early realist; he so clothed fiction in the garb of truth, in his "*Robinson Crusoe*," "*Strange Apparition of Mrs. Veal*," and other writings, as to deceive some of the literary elect, and to interest the reading public as few writers have done. Fielding, too, was a realist, in that he described low life as he saw it, and turned his back upon the academic traditions of his time. Goldsmith, both in prose and verse, painted certain classes of English and Irish society in life-like colors. Even Scott, with all his sentiment and romanticism and winsome Toryism, cannot be called untrue to the soul of humanity, or unable to see and describe things as they have been, if not always able to feel the pulse of the present century. Dickens walked and talked with the London poor, familiarized himself with suburban and rural English life, and at least tried to describe Americans as he had seen them. Thackeray is always supposed to "have held the mirror up to society," and to have portrayed its shams and foibles without exaggeration. Charlotte and Emily Brontë in Yorkshire, R. D. Blackmore in Devon and Somerset, William Black in the Hebrides, Charles Reade in the manufacturing towns — all these may in justice be called realists, whatever their differences of method and style. Yet none of them would come under the application of the term as at present employed. It was their aim, and that of thousands of writers since the world began to scribble, to be true; but they differed from the present school because they gave a greater place to sentiment, even though most of them shunned sentimentality. What, then, is modern American realism? To attempt to define it may be easier than to define poetry or Transcendentalism, but it is not easy. For the purposes of the present essay it may be sufficient to say that realism stands without, not within; describes without evidence of personal sympathy; seldom indulges in exclamations, reflections, or sermons based upon the narratives which it offers; leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions concerning right and wrong; describes by implication, or minute rather than large characterization; is fond of petty details; devotes itself chiefly to quiet people of the "upper" or middling classes; and extensively patronizes Atlantic steamships and Con-

tinental railways. It has been the most conspicuous, though not the most important, development of later American literature, and its leader is Mr. Henry James.

Remembering that "realism" is not the only phase of later fiction in the United States, we must certainly note that it has contributed largely to the current popularity of American novels and short stories among readers abroad, as well as at home. Criticism of our fictitious literature to-day is criticism of that which some competent judges call the best fiction now written. Hawthorne, Thackeray, Dickens, and George Eliot are dead; who is the first living English-writing novelist? Mr. Henry James, say some deliberate and confident voices. We hear no less favorable assertions from foreign critics concerning a large part of that American literature which once they laughed at or ignored. "Most of the stories which reach us from America are well written; either the bad novels stay at home, or else the American average is higher than ours," said "The Athenæum" a few years ago. The same journal remarked later that "it is certain that the ordinary novels that are sent to us by United States publishers are executed in a better fashion than their equivalents here." Again, the "London News" thinks that "American novelists almost give us lessons in careful elaboration of style, in reticence, and in well-calculated effects." This last compliment is apparently designed for Mr. James. This quiet innovator, without loss of dignity, and without ungentelemanly self-assertion or the use of startling effects, has at any rate entitled himself to a place among the *influences* of American literature. A distinction must always be made between writers of high achievement and writers who have exerted power upon others. The real forces, among the eighteen hundred authors included in one handbook of American literature, are Cotton Mather, Edwards, Franklin, Jefferson, Webster, Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Whittier, Hawthorne, Poe, Emerson, Bancroft, Motley, Walt Whitman, Henry James, and Cable. Or, to condense the list, the significant names in the department of fiction are Irving, Cooper, Hawthorne, Poe, James, and Cable, of whom only the last two are living.

Mr. James, now forty-two years of age, did not adopt at first the constructive method by which he is best known. The New York magazine called "The Galaxy," now dead, used to be his common vehicle of communication. Its earlier volumes contained many stories from his pen, which differed from the usual magazine work not so much in plot and in larger elaboration as in a certain

neatness of finish, and lack of personal intrusion on the part of the author. Other work of Mr. James appeared in "The Atlantic Monthly," "Lippincott's Magazine," and elsewhere; some of which he has abandoned, while not a little of it has been preserved in book form. The volume entitled "A Passionate Pilgrim and Other Tales" contains several stories which can hardly be classified with the author's later productions. There is a strong romantic element in "A Passionate Pilgrim"; "The Last of the Valerit" is an essay toward the Hawthorne manner, — with the usual result; "The Madonna of the Future" is an essentially humanitarian tale; and "The Romance of Certain Old Clothes" is distinctly sensational. These and the other stories in the volume are well written, but they are not realism, as defined in this essay. Mr. James's earlier criticisms and descriptions of travel really show more of his present method than did his first stories. The influences of travel, of "cosmopolitan" — we would better say "man without a country" — culture, and of his instinctive literary style, served to develop his later plan. He needs no *ars est celare artem*; he follows his bent; and the soberer years of manhood naturally turned him from his first essays toward the sensational and the romantic, though he has never lost his humanitarian element.

It is not necessary to pass through the well-known list of Mr. James's books, reviewing each in minute detail. He has three "manners"; "The Passionate Pilgrim" book represents one, "Daisy Miller" the second, and "The Portrait of a Lady" the third. In "Daisy Miller" Mr. James depicts the American girl as he thinks he knows her. The picture is unattractive to those who, recognizing her as a "type," refuse to regard her as a very prominent one. This novelette aroused, perhaps, a needless amount of excitement, since the author's method evidently was impartial, in his own view, and since he gave his little heroine some attractive qualities, which may well be recommended for European imitation. The defect which the reader feels in this, as in so much of Mr. James's work, is not respecting what is said, but rather with the author's evident lack of heart or human interest in the matter. Mrs. Burnett's "A Fair Barbarian," almost as good as a mere story, illustrates the fact that Mr. James, by contrast, is the calm proprietor of a museum, not the creator of any of its contents. We may call him a consummate photographer, in the "Daisy Miller" class of his stories, but not an artist. He is, at best, a French painter in fiction, not a master in the older manner.

He has deliberately chosen his plan, and must pay the penalty while he receives the reward.

In his longer "international" — or, as they have been cleverly called, *émigré* — novels we recognize more clearly the artistic touch. "Roderick Hudson" and "The Portrait of a Lady" are the best of his longer stories, and "Confidence" is the poorest, but all are constructed on the same scheme, — the scheme first fully elaborated in his novelette of "Watch and Ward," published twelve years ago. Behind all his books stands the author, never more visible than the live man in Maelzel's automaton chess-player. There passes before him a procession of characters; he notes and chronicles their characteristics, and he tells some of the things that they say and do, with fewer of the things they think. These personages, men and women, are not knights, or Pathfinders, or dark, mysterious villains, or dazzling beauties, or damsels forlorn, subjected to plot and intrigue, nor startling creatures of the Nancy Sykes order. Mr. James describes commonplace people of the better kind; and though they feel, and act, and are acted upon, their environment is irreproachable. The passions of Mr. James's novels are real; the author knows them and describes them well, but the answer to the riddle he leaves to the reader. Seldom does he seem to be working toward a definite result in his books, though most of them have what may in a sense be called a "moral." A part of the complex life of the last quarter of the nineteenth century is his theme; he delineates it as well as he can in faultless English, he hopes; and he analyzes and sub-analyzes; but the result — "what is it all when all is done?" Surely he is not a pessimist, but he is not the novelist with whom we are familiar. If he is not so gloomy as his great master Tourguéneff — whom he never forgets — neither is he so intense.

Such a man, writing as he does, is sure to have followers. Without impressing all his characteristics upon the writers who have studied him carefully, Mr. James's mark can be plainly seen in the stories of Mr. G. P. Lathrop (who seems to *prefer* the region of an intenser feeling than that of "The Portrait of a Lady"), Mr. W. H. Bishop, and (sometimes) Mr. Edgar Fawcett, while even Mr. H. H. Boyesen has not quite escaped the spell. A greater writer than any of these, Mr. W. D. Howells, who was famous before Mr. James, has distinctly changed his earlier manner, and now works on lines very similar to those followed by his younger but serenely dominant contemporary. A few years ago I ventured to suggest the first signs of this change, and my modest

criticism aroused a little surprise; but now he may run that readeth it. All the stories have been told, said Mr. Howells in his noted article on Mr. James; so now we are interested in analysis. Therefore came "A Modern Instance," which narrowly escaped beating Mr. James on his own ground, because Mr. Howells has a broader knowledge of life; and "A Woman's Reason," which might almost have been written in Mr. James's "box" in England. A charming, fresh, natural, witty, and distinctly American writer Mr. Howells remains, as represented in his earlier books; it is to be regretted that he has apparently tried to remodel his older and better method, and to force it into unnatural, and we hope temporary, limits.

What is the relation of this realism to the question of moral purpose which we are considering? In the first place, the James novel has strong negative merits. It is clean, and that means a good deal, when we remember Fielding, Smollett, Swift, Defoe, Goethe, Balzac, and George Sand. Nay, more; it is clean in comparison with the realistic French novel of to-day. I do not mean the monstrous coarseness of Zola, but the more refined, and therefore more mischievous, indecency of Daudet. French fictitious literature is so permeated with immorality that Daudet (whom Mr. James himself calls the first living novelist) seems respectable by comparison, and doubtless so considers himself. But Mr. James's lengthening library of books is pure throughout, if my memory is not at fault. Coarse allusions, questionable jests, minute details of an unnecessary kind, are creditably absent. Impurity seems to have had its day in English and American fiction, and Mr. James is standing firmly on the right side. The realism that confuses right and wrong gets no countenance from him. Again, it must be said that penalty follows transgression, in his stories, and that righteousness is made plain, if not always "rewarded" in the old-fashioned manner. His stories end abruptly, sometimes sadly; but the reader does not lay them down with any other impression than that it is well to be good. Weakness is a sin which Mr. James delights to follow to its inevitable conclusion; and the Saxon love of strength finds its last exemplification in the work of this apparently dilettante writer. Then, too, literary finish is made so apparent that slipshod workmanship will be discouraged in our novels for a good while to come.

The moral defect, however, is apparent. It lies in the lack of a large, true, helpful purpose—that shown by every master in every art. "He said;" "she said;" "they were married;"

"they died," — all this should be dominated and made real. Sometimes Mr. James's effects are all the more serviceable because they are so well finished; but sometimes the curtain falls, and the jaded spectator goes away from an indifferent and valueless sight. Literary finish, art of any sort, is not genuine unless it answers the question: What for? It is because Mr. James so often leaves this question unanswered; so often seems to care naught for it; so often forgets that man always has been and always will be a creature of ambition, hope, love, enthusiasm, and the idea of duty; it is because of this that he and his school must wield but a temporary power, unless the whole intellectual history of man has been at fault.

There has been a new insistence, of late, upon the duty of the novelist to live among those whose words and ways he describes, and to study life minutely and accurately. This is the creed professed by many well-known writers, from Mr. James down to Émile Zola. There is nothing new in the proposition, but there is much novelty in putting it into practice. What is the life that the novelist is to describe? Is it action, movement, story? or is it existence, attitude, pictorial representation? The former, say the majority of well-known writers; the latter, say Mr. James and his followers. Again, which is the more important, the thing told or the way of telling it? The former, we aver, because all art is grounded on the necessity that the subject should have some reason for existence and delineation. The latter, say those who follow the extreme French school of artistic fiction to its logical conclusion. Last of all, what is life? Animal existence, says Walt Whitman. Conventional existence, declare its tame and bloodless, though artistically elegant, chroniclers. The career of upward-moving souls, answers the chorus of the world's greatest authors, in fiction as in every other department of literature. It is the ideal in the real, not the real without the ideal. And a finer and truer art is needed for the description of the first than for that of the second.

The great improvement in the number and quality of American novels published since the war has been due to an honest attempt to describe American life as it is, in its breadth, height, and depth. Some of its elements have been faithfully set forth, with rare literary skill, by Mr. James himself, and still more by Mr. Howells. Fidelity of description like that in the portrayal of the northern New England village in "A Modern Instance" is to be valued by every student of our literature. But the long list of

better American novels, lately published, repeatedly shows that the moral purpose has been kept in view, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another; now with more art, now with less; but ever in such a way as to make our fiction the important thing it has become in the world's eyes.

New England itself, old, sometimes conventional, and for years abounding in authors of ability, has been newly painted by several of these later writers. Miss Sarah O. Jewett presents the ancient, decadent, respectable, gentle, and winsome seaboard town, and tells of the life still lived there. The courtly old lady in black lace cap and mitts, living in a square house with a hall running straight through, and with a solid mahogany table in the hall — this is but one of the figures of which Miss Jewett has told us. Her New England girls of the better class, well-educated, of good descent, and aware of the proprieties of life, yet fresh, happy, and fond of a good time — these show that celebrated creature, the "American girl," in a truer light than that which flares through some of the caricature-novels accepted in England as delineations of our society. Lady F. P. Verney, an Englishwoman, has lately printed in "The Contemporary Review" an article on "The Americans Painted by Themselves." This superficial article, written after reading a random lot of American novels — three or four books by Mr. James and Mr. Howells, Miss Alcott's "Work," Robert Grant's "Confessions of a Frivolous Girl," Edgar Fawcett's "A Gentleman of Leisure," the forgotten "Helen's Babies," the "Diary of a Naughty [sic] Boy," and the inevitable "Democracy" — tells us that we are tuft-hunters, let our girls run without restraint, have no homes, are fond of display in dress, use bad English, and do not prepare ourselves for the tasks we undertake. Should Lady Verney read two or three books by Miss Jewett, fairly describing New England life, I think she would find pictures of self-respecting people, aristocratic in the only true sense, living in long-established homes, bringing up their daughters modestly and yet not conventually, using English that compares decidedly well with that in vogue in London, and making, as well as finding, "life worth living."

The longer and shorter stories of Miss Elizabeth Stuart Phelps are more intense than those of Miss Jewett; but they are also local in scene and color, and are similarly pervaded with a moral idea. Miss Phelps deals with stormier moods and with profounder aspirations, but the New England books of the two writers differ in degree rather than in kind. While dealing with the general

question of the moral element in fiction, one thinks at once of the fact that Miss Phelps's two famous books, by which she is most widely known, "The Gates Ajar," and "Beyond the Gates," deal with one of the tenderest of human hopes and one of the deepest and truest beliefs of man. As Mrs. Oliphant's procession of clever stories fades, while "A Little Pilgrim" and "Old Lady Mary" cling to the memory, so the world is willing to set aside the tragic art of Miss Phelps's "Tenth of January," or the social study in "Doctor Zay," while it reads and discusses her chapters on the beyond and the unseen. Granting that Miss Jewett and Miss Phelps, or Miss Howard and Miss Tincker and Mrs. Spofford (all New England born, and all but Miss Phelps natives of the single State of Maine), do not show Mr. James's uniformity of literary skill, any one of them knows more of soul-life, which is life, than does the cold spectator of "The Portrait of a Lady." So, too, Edward Everett Hale, who, like the late William M. Baker of the South, does not always study and polish as he ought, feels American life as it really is. Emerson has told the foreign student of America to go to the town-meeting if he really would know America; and there, if anywhere, is the basis of our national life. Back of the town-meeting is the individual, and within the individual is the living soul. Whether or not the "great American novel" will ever be written is an unimportant question — what is *the* great American poem, history, essay? But if it shall be, it will be based on the character which has made the nation in the past, and which, if anything, will save it from future wreck.

In the novels of George P. Lathrop, Edgar Fawcett, and Robert Grant there is a greater approximation to the "realistic" manner. But with Mr. Lathrop, as we have said, is a sentiment beneath the mannerism, which appears even in the Quietist story of "Newport." Mr. Fawcett's books are New York social studies of differing merit, and seem, like his poems, essays *toward* a higher achievement. Familiar with society, and a satirist of its foibles, Mr. Fawcett is at heart a believer rather than a cynic. He shows his true kinship in the best of his writings thus far — the recently published sonnet on Longfellow's bust. Believer, not skeptic, is the term that must also be applied to Mr. Robert Grant. His "Confessions of a Frivolous Girl" is of course mere frivolity; but in "An Average Man" is a constant, and on the whole a sound, moral purpose. If one reads it without reaching the conclusion that righteousness, not selfishness, is the true basis

of life, and that it alone can bring happiness, he reads the novel in vain.

We have been considering some novelists and story-tellers of New England and New York city. In the two books of Mr. Philander Deming, one of the least sensational but one of the most praiseworthy of our recent writers, we find the scenes laid in the Adirondack region of northern New York, or in the neighboring cities of Albany and Burlington. In Mr. Deming's work the form is like that of Mr. James's stories, but the spirit is the author's own. In "Lida Ann," or "Tompkins," for instance, Mr. Deming shows that he possesses the double power of describing details minutely, and of delineating the life behind the details. By little touches we are made to see character and scenery; and we are also shown, in deeper tints, the kind of existence led by the personages of the tales. Their works and ways are humble, but the essential spirit of the better fiction is never lost. In "Lida Ann" a commonplace little Adirondack girl marries a coarse, "emotional," and pretentious revivalist; then she runs away with a "Spiritualist" humbug; but at last come the real regeneration of the revivalist by the gospel of hard work and modest self-sacrifice, and the return of the foolish wanderer to a respectable life. In "Tompkins" is merely the life-story of a Vermont girl who silently supports an unsuspecting loved one in his college course, and who goes to her grave before he learns the secret. But these "simple stories," in very truth, are told with such art, with such fidelity to petty detail and to high purpose, that they cannot be omitted in any estimate of our later fiction, especially when its moral side is under consideration.

Miss Woolson, whose maturer work hardly fulfills the promise of her short stories included in the "Castle Nowhere" volume, writes books with a reason, and presents faithful pictures of some Western and Southern regions. So, too, did the late William M. Baker, beneath whose hurried, slipshod, and unpleasant style burned a hearty hatred of sham and a real belief in downright manhood and womanhood. In too many writers we find art without soul; in Mr. Baker's books is soul without art; and therefore, we fear, they cannot long survive their writer. Judge Tourgée, however, adds to his purpose a degree of literary skill which Mr. Baker, a greater inventor, never showed; and this may serve to rescue his books from the usual fate of the political novel. But if our English friends really want to study American politics as they are, we must not refer them to their pet book "Democracy,"

an extravagant presentation of only the worst side of Washington life, nor to "The Bread-Winners," which portrays villains tolerably well, but fails in describing decent society. They will learn more from novels not professedly political; for the best American public life is no more fully presented in our fiction than is Gladstonian statesmanship in English novels.

The new literature of the South is by far the best it has ever had. Southern writers, instead of declaiming as of old against Northern "provincialism," or "sectional oppression in literature," seem to have set to work to equal or surpass Northern writers in similar achievements, but with faithful presentation of their own men, women, scenes, and customs. Such writers as "Charles Egbert Craddock," describing the life of eastern Tennessee, Joel Chandler Harris, faithfully gathering the folk-lore, humor, and romance of the Georgia ex-slave, or George W. Cable, chronicling the life of a "peculiar people" in a lovely land or a quaint city, will take care of the reputation of the literature of the "new South." Mr. Cable, the wholesomest of later American novelists of the higher class, is a moralist, in a genuine sense. The "art for art's sake" dogma gets no encouragement from his short stories and novels. Through New Orleans life he sees the good and bad threads running, but the warp and woof which he weaves therefrom into his books are presented to us as a beautiful and helpful result. He knows what life is, and what it is for; and the life he describes is real and complete, not imaginary and partial. Mr. Cable's Louisiana, like Bret Harte's California, is a land of hopes and fears, of struggle and victory or defeat, of right and wrong, of reward and penalty. Mr. Cable is the finer artist, Mr. Harte the brighter wit; but each in his own way is a moralist in literature. Mere "finish" seems cheap and poor beside downright wholesomeness, when effectively and beautifully brought before the reader.

When a book is not wholesome, not finished, not entertaining, and not strong, it need not detain us long, even though it be the very latest "great American novel," written in a Kansas newspaper office, and duly transported to Boston under the auspices of so keen a critic as Mr. Howells. Leaving the dreary "Story of a Country Town," I therefore pass to the remark that the probable decline of the "realistic school" is made further evident, of late, by the increasing popularity, once more, of stories of downright romance, like "Mr. Isaacs," Mr. Edward Bellamy's story of "Miss Ludington's Sister," or Julian Hawthorne's weird and

strong "Archibald Malmaison," and other similar works. That the story is still capable of interesting is proved by the success of Mr. Crawford's "A Roman Singer," by the last books of Mrs. Burnett, and by the extraordinary success, from the commercial standpoint, of the books by the English writer who adopts the pseudonym "Hugh Conway." Mr. Crawford, the most conspicuous of the latest American novelists, is certainly no "realist," and he is best when he is nearest the nobler things of life. The great favor accorded to Professor Hardy's "But Yet a Woman" was due not only to its clever and telling aphorisms, to its serene and finished English style, or to its plot, but also to its freedom from the sensationalism, vulgarity, and intrigue which we instinctively associate with a novel whose scene is laid in France. Moral integrity and high purpose are found in another recent American novel of French life, Miss Howard's remarkable story, "Guenn." To write a long novel, based on the hopeless love of a painter's model for her employer, without coarseness of thought or suggestion, without wearying the reader, without making the hero blameworthy, and with a sense of distinct moral elevation as the book is laid down — this is the hard task accomplished by one American writer, whom, with Miss Jewett and "H. H.," the author of "Ramona," we commend to the attention of too hasty generalizers on the state of things in our life and fiction. If our American women, as one of their English cousins avers, are dull, match-making, extravagant, fond of display, and illiterate, they are strangely successful in putting sound intention into a graceful literary form.

Some of the writers whom I have named may do better work than they have hitherto done, and others may do worse; the field of fiction will be occupied by new figures; literary fashions will change; art will ever be followed, and will be brought to higher developments; but in novels as in life the future world of readers will ask not only *whence* but *whither*, not only *how* but *why*.

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COÖPERATIVE CREATION.

A NEW beatitude, it is said, has been proclaimed by science: "Blessed are the fit, for they shall inherit the earth." It would, perhaps, be invidious to call this way of putting things sensational. It is certainly striking; and were we called upon to produce an example of more effective aphoristic background it might be difficult to find one. "Blessed are the poor in spirit." "Blessed are they that mourn." "Blessed are the meek." Could language be formed better calculated to heighten the effect of "Blessed are the fit?" Undoubtedly the first thought of many has been that the radical opposition of Christian and evolutionary principles is happily set forth in this turn of language. The *fit*, in evolution, are the prosperous, the strong, the wily. Christianity, on the other hand, blesses those who resist not evil, who give way in the struggle for existence, who feed their enemies. It specially addresses itself to the outcast, to the oppressed, to the down-trodden, in fact, to the *unfit*.

Is, then, Christianity the antithesis of evolution? Has it come into the world to reverse the process which prevails throughout all nature? The more we think the matter over, the less inclined, I suspect, we shall be to accept such a conclusion. One thing we may premise. Perhaps the same qualifications do not constitute fitness in the physical and in the spiritual world; and if so, it may be that what we have taken for a contradiction in principles is no more than a contrast of relations, like that expressed by the Apostle Paul in the paradox: "When I am weak, then am I strong." In the second place, it should be noticed that the evolutionary beatitude, above quoted, is the expression of a fundamental or central truth, while the Christian beatitudes, against which it is placed, are truths of the circumference; special, concrete truths which, immediately they are moved out of certain definite relations, become untruths. And further, if we try to rectify this inequality by seeking for some principle of Christianity which is equally central and universal, we shall forthwith see the newness fade out of this scientific beatitude, and only the novelty of its wording left to save it from being a plagiarism. "For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

The principle is as far-reaching in the one case as in the other. It is as uncompromising in the spiritual sphere as in the physical;

and we are forced by it to a clearer recognition of the fact that Christianity is not the revocation of the command of the God of nature to fight the good fight of life with earnestness and vigor, but the reiteration of it. It does not annul the penalties pronounced upon those who are lacking in courage and endurance, or who, for weariness, give over resistance. If the angels who heralded the birth of Christ sang of peace, Christ himself said, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." The promise is to *him that overcometh*. The conflict is the same conflict. It is for the realization of the highest possible results of that process which has been in operation from the foundation of the world. Christianity outlines more clearly what those highest results are to be. It discloses advanced ideals; it prescribes advanced methods. Weakness, therefore, becomes strength when the failure of lower ideals and lower methods obliges us to take hold on the higher.

This continuity of the conflict becomes more apparent when we compare the authorized illustration of the principle, "unto every one that hath shall be given," with the amplification of the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest," offered by evolution. In the parable of the talents, God, the creator and judge of all men, is represented as one who commits to his creatures certain spiritual gifts with the expectation that these will be, not simply preserved and returned, but used as the means of increase. Increase is *required*. If there is no increase, even the original bestowment is taken away. Now, turning to evolution, we have presented to our minds the conception of a *world* that has come into existence through an exactly parallel process. A continually increasing complexity has resulted from the energizing of matter originally endowed with comparatively simple powers. When it comes to organized life, evolution sees in the lowest forms living things that have had a certain something given to them, and in the next higher grade it recognizes these same organisms, transformed and promoted, because of the faithful use of that which was committed to them. In each case two main factors are represented, the endowed creature and the endowing and rewarding Creator.

But it may be suggested that in the spiritual realm the severity of the law is offset by the merciful provision of assistance offered to those who seek it. But even here there is not the difference which at first sight seems to exist. In the one case, it is true, we are dealing with conscious, responsible agents, who to a greater or less degree understand the principles on which they act, and in the other with unconscious, unmoral creatures who have not this

understanding, and who are unable to make an intelligent application or response to the Being who rules over them. But aside from this distinction, the principle is the same; and nature teaches us that throughout the whole range of creation the rule *laborare est orare* is in force. The increase is given in answer to effort; and as in the spiritual world the reward is not necessarily or simply the accomplishment of the end directly aimed at, but a something above and beyond it, so the increment of evolution is a clear gain not included in the expectation of the agent. The creature strives, more or less blindly, for the satisfaction of those wants which the pressure of environment develops; and, as a more or less remote consequence of this dumb prayer of effort, a condition of things is reached that involves as great a mystery to the most profound scientific philosopher as to the humblest creature in which the miracle of transformation is performed. A higher stage of existence is reached, — a stage in which both activities and responsibilities, wants and opportunities, are increased. This is as true of the individual as of the race. Faculties, as well as species, are developed and perfected through the response of the organism to environment.

The clear recognition of this continuity of principle and process is of the utmost importance in our attempts to determine the bearing of evolution upon Christian theology. And if I am not mistaken, the conclusion to which it points is that the antithesis between Christianity and evolution is illusory, and that the hostilities which have signalized the meeting of these doctrines are discords which will resolve themselves into a profound harmony of ever-increasing volume. I am not, indeed, such an enthusiast as to believe that evolution will leave our theology just where it found it. Even the simplest and broadest statement of the new theory of creation must profoundly modify some of our inherited doctrines. But my meaning is that its influence will not be destructive or revolutionary. On the contrary, the fundamental principles of a scientific evolution are also, within a limited sphere, the fundamental truths of theology. But the necessary effect of entertaining the evolutionary explanation of the method of God's working will be to greatly extend the application of these principles; and theology, without suffering the extinction of any of its real lights, must, it seems to me, receive a flood of illumination on a side that has been much in shadow.

This effect of evolution is conspicuously illustrated in its bearing upon a fundamental doctrine that lies close to the one which we

have been considering, namely, the doctrine which formulates a theory as to the efficiency of man in the working out of his own spiritual destiny. As regards the extent of this efficiency, theology has, all through the ages, been more or less divided in its own house. On the one hand, statements of doctrine which seem to exclude man from all participation in the process of regeneration and sanctification have been insisted upon; and on the other, the agency of man has been so magnified as to seem the practical denial of any other factor. In these latter days, Augustinianism and Pelagianism have, to a great extent, merged their differences; and a progressive theology, regarding each representation as a too exclusive view of one side of the truth, is content to rest the controversy with a statement like that of the Psalmist: "*Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it.*" The agency of God is fully and emphatically stated without denying that of man; and the agency of man, while insisted upon as an all-important and necessary factor, is subsidiary to that of Him in whom we live and move and have our being. But now, having reached this point, we are called upon to extend our recognition of this principle of coöperative causation from the realm of the spirit to the interpretation of the method of God's working throughout the universe. The apparently inconsistent exhortation of the Apostle Paul, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you," finds an echo from the side of science when evolution calls upon us to think of the world, not as having suddenly leapt into existence in response to the behest of an absolute being, but as the result of a gradual and conditioned process, a continual becoming wrought out through the coöperative activities of the Creator and the creature.

It is not indeed to be expected that this conception of creation, as a coöperative process, will be accepted at once, either as a theological dogma or as an established scientific principle. It is a thing of comparatively recent date that the agency of the creature in spiritual evolution has been allowed, if we may borrow a figure from politics, a representation; that is, nothing more than a theoretical and equivocal representation has been allowed by orthodoxy. And, if history repeats itself here as elsewhere, we must expect to see a conservative theology continuing to represent the Augustinian tendency as opposed to a Pelagian science. Zealous for the recognition of God, the former will minimize the agency of the creature; and, zealous for the recognition of natural forces, the latter will be impatient of every allusion to the su-

pernatural. Science is to-day, in some quarters, passing through a phase analogous to that of the French Revolution during the ascendancy of the Jacobin element. Intoxicated by newly-acquired powers, it constructs schemes of the universe in which the necessity for the recognition of any such thing as a central intelligence and will is denied.

But when that has come to pass which must come to pass, — that which in the spiritual sphere has adjusted the claims for recognition of God and the creature, and which in the sphere of politics has balanced the rights of the individual and the powers of the central government, — then shall we see science and theology moving onward together, the harmonious leaders toward a higher, broader, truer conception of God and his relations to the universe. And here I would submit the proposition that some of the most formidable arguments of the speculative atheism of our day have their roots in a conception of creation which is the direct antithesis of that which evolution presents to us; and, further, that a most important advance toward the recognition of God as *beneficent*, not in special classes of phenomena only, but in all classes, from the beginning to the end of the great world history, will be made when we have finally appropriated the idea that creation is a continuous, not yet completed, coöperative process.

I do not mean to say that evolution can explain to us the intention of every particular phenomenon, but that it does lift a veil of mystery from great outlying classes of facts which have hitherto seemed the contradiction of God's benevolent working. On the theory of sudden and special creation the Christian argument for design admits only of a one-sided statement. It brings together all the facts which point in a certain direction; but, in so doing, it *makes a case* for all the facts that point or seem to point in the opposite direction, and the two classes are apparently at a dead lock. The Christian declares himself most impressed by those that testify to the benevolence of God, while the atheist fixes his attention on those which seem to point in the opposite direction. But on the theory of creation by process both classes of facts may be seen to be working together like the cog-wheels of an elaborate machine for the production of some end not yet attained, but which may be conceived of as infinitely worthy.

For example, a most interesting argument to prove a beneficent design in creation has been framed by massing the circumstances which are immediately favorable to the existence and progress of mankind upon the earth. Air, water, light, and heat are so gen-

erally diffused as to make a large part of the world habitable by man ; the forests, the rivers, and the sea were, before his coming, stocked with food for him ; and the ground brought forth her fruits of many varieties ready to be gathered by his hand. More than this, the civilization and enlightenment of the human race were provided for. Immense stores of iron, the good genius of material progress, were made in anticipation of a far-off development ; and, complementary to this, great deposits of fuel were formed during those early ages while as yet man had not entered upon the scene. The precious metals were given in just the right quantities to serve as the medium of exchange and thereby facilitate the intercourse of nations. So, also, the materials of artificial light and the latent forces of electricity and steam were made ready to assist the upward movement of man when he should be prepared to make use of them.

This is, as I have said, an interesting argument for the existence of a preconceived plan in the arrangement of the earth as an abode for civilized man ; but it is only half stated. At every step it suggests more than it exhibits, and the mind that would draw an inference is confronted by an array of facts which must also be regarded as illustrative of design, but which cannot be seen to have the same design. The sun that gives light and warmth to vitalize also scorches, and withers, and kills. The streams and the showers that, in one aspect, are so friendly to the welfare of man, anon betray him, and as storms and torrents and inundations destroy his crops, sweep away his cattle, his habitation, and even the very land on which he has toiled. While, on the one hand, the deposits of coal and oil were being formed for the use of man, on the other, great moving fields of ice were burying whole countries of fertile land with stones and unproductive gravel. And further, if we admit the evidence of benevolent prevision in the accumulation of supplies for man we must also consider the manner of their bestowment. The air, the light, and the water are free gifts, bestowed unconditionally, and ready to be used almost without an effort. But beyond this, what obstacles are not placed in the way of man's becoming possessed of the world's treasures ? The animals which exist for his food are swifter of foot than he ; and the forests which abound with these abound also with creatures that are as ready to make food of him as he of the lesser tribes or of them. The rivers and the sea are full of fish, but he cannot outswim them. He has stone and wood lying about him ready to be used for weapons and utensils. But the stone is

hard to shape, and the wood to cut. The iron is ready for him, in great abundance, but not in such a form that he can appropriate it. The most favored lands have no deposit of axes, knives, and ploughs for the encouragement of agriculture and civilization. This most helpful material was almost everywhere mingled with foreign substances which rendered it useless until the skill of man had devised methods for separating it from them. The lake dwellings of Switzerland show us that iron was once regarded as a precious metal, and as such was used for ornamenting copper.

The coal and the oil are not so difficult to prepare for use. But if we see design in their production, may we not with equal reason be asked to see design in their concealment, in their being so hidden away that man was ages in finding out their use? And what shall we say to the fact that great masses of the coal deposit are so situated that men must fight their way through innumerable difficulties to get at them, only to find the object of their desire guarded by the twin dragons, flood and fire-damp? Again, the fruits of the earth were for the most part given to man, not in the forms in which we know them, but in forms far inferior and less nourishing. Human skill and diligence have done much to make them what they are. Many painful mistakes had to be made before the useful products were distinguished from the harmful, and in some cases the former were counterfeited by the latter.

Now, these contrasted groups of phenomena, which might be indefinitely extended, may be looked at in two ways. And I would call attention to the fact that the view we take of the *method* of creation necessarily determines our judgment of the nature of that conflict which, in every direction, forces itself upon our notice. The opposing conceptions of method offered on the one hand by tradition and on the other by science represent divergent tendencies of thought; and the diverse elements which have been woven into our somewhat disjointed notions of the world and its author will each disclose, on analysis, a natural affinity for, and relationship to, one or the other of these tendencies.

I make bold, therefore, to affirm that all our highest beliefs fall naturally and easily into place as deductions from the fundamental conception of a not-yet-completed world process; while those of an opposite nature, which have helped to sustain atheism and dualism and pessimism, are as naturally assimilated by the conception of sudden creation. From this latter theory flow logically

and almost unavoidably such distracting ideas as the following: first, that nature is a vast collocation of independent and isolated phenomena, which, instead of working toward one end, are more or less radically opposed to each other; and second, that since the results which we see around us are complete the character of their author, or authors, may fairly be judged by the relations which they sustain to each other. The hypothesis of a further creation affords no escape from these conclusions. For we have no reason to anticipate that a new order of things would be correlated to that which has gone before in any greater degree than the parts of the existing world are correlated to each other. Any subsequent creation must be judged on its own basis. As regards that which we know, the evidence is all in; and the wisdom or the folly, the goodness or the wickedness, of its author or authors may be estimated by the relation in which its arrangements stand to the immediate happiness and comfort of *man*. For since man is the being that has most to gain or lose by these arrangements he is entitled to sit in judgment upon them, and to divide them into the good and the bad.

These conclusions find a natural and satisfactory basis in dualism. "*Purposeless conflict*" may, indeed, be the inference of the atheist who argues that the most pious or least dreadful solution of the difficulty is arrived at by abolishing the idea of design altogether. But dualism affords a refuge to one who would unite in his conception of God the idea of benevolence with that of special creation. To the imagination of such an one the world is like a great game of chess. The white pieces represent all those arrangements which make for the well-being and happiness of man, but the positions of these are held in check and threatened on every side by other arrangements made by some dark and hostile being, who, though he is playing a losing game, yet persistently and doggedly opposes the good, step by step. This is a conceivable hypothesis; and it seems to me the *only* one which reconciles the ideas of a *benevolent God* and *creation without process*. For when we regard the great classes of facts which we have arrayed against each other as *not* constituting the factors of a process, the antagonisms which characterize them stand out as the only relations by which to judge them. But, on the other hand, if we accept the idea that all things have been created through one continuous world process which tends toward the highest results, a process which has worked out through, and by means of, antagonisms, we may still believe in one God, who is Lord over all, blessed forever.

Moreover, what is true of this first article of the creed is equally true of all our other most exalted and most precious convictions. Under the old conception of creation they have been aliens and strangers, without kith or kin among our other natural beliefs, — angels whom we have been glad to entertain, but who have ever seemed on the point of taking flight. Such an one is the belief in a future life, the continuation and supplement of this. If life here on earth has been a continual becoming and overcoming, and bears the unmistakable marks of incompleteness, the anticipation of a continuance of the half-finished process is not only natural but unavoidable. So, also, it is with the belief that perfection is attained through suffering and conflict, and that all things are working together for the attainment of the highest possible results.

I do not indeed mean to suggest that those who hold to the idea of special creation accept all or any of its affiliated beliefs any more than I would say that those who accept an evolutionary explanation of the world are as a class the exponents of the highest religious faith. But I do mean to say that the strongest points of atheism are drawn directly and naturally from the old conception, which is still adhered to by a conservative theology; and that this is so ingrained with the habits of our thought that even so eminent a writer as Mr. J. S. Mill, though inclined to accept the new view of creation, does not cease to argue from the postulates of the old. For instance, while recognizing in his "Marks of Design in Nature" the strength of the arguments which support the general theory of evolution, Mr. Mill fails altogether to discern in that theory anything that can help him out of the discouraging conclusion that the hypothesis of a benevolent creator is inseparably bound up with the idea of incompetence. And in another essay, "Nature,"¹ he everywhere takes the ground that all the arrangements in creation which oppose the happiness and temporal well-being of man are no less than they seem to be, the antithesis of good; and he is unable to conceive that they can in any way be the intentional means of good unless they are so directly and immediately. Thus he says, if we believe that these harmful agencies "were appointed by a benevolent Providence as the means of accomplishing wise purposes which could not be compassed if they did not exist, then everything done by mankind which tends to chain up these natural agencies or to restrict their mischievous operation, from draining a pestilential marsh down to

¹ This essay was indorsed by Mr. Mill in 1873.

curing the toothache, or putting up an umbrella, ought to be accounted impious." Every effort to improve nature or to improve our own condition is, he affirms, an acknowledgment that the ways of nature are often toward man in the position of enemies; and further, he says, very truly, that the consciousness that every such improvement involves a censure upon the spontaneous order of nature has in all ages caused new attempts in this direction to be at first under a shade of religious suspicion.

In this very same essay, however, Mr. Mill trembles on the verge of a great truth, which had he grasped it must have entirely changed the character and result of his speculations. "No one," he says, "either religious or irreligious, believes that the hurtful agencies of nature, considered as a whole, promote good purposes in any other way than by inciting human rational creatures to rise up and struggle against them." I say that Mr. Mill here misses a great truth because he has failed even to dream of the hypothesis that these "hurtful agencies" were allowed a place in nature, by a benevolent Creator, for the very purpose of promoting that struggle on the part of rational human beings which he has recognized as their only good feature. In other words, he is bound to the old conception, which looks upon the different parts of nature as separate and independent creations. He has not compassed that idea of modern science that all these arrangements are parts of one plan and one process. The strength of his argument, therefore, as against orthodoxy is that it proceeds upon the fundamental postulates of orthodoxy.

Many answers have, of course, been made to this line of criticism, which is, in its main features, far older than Mr. Mill. But they are not, I suspect, answers in which Christian thinkers have taken a great amount of comfort. One way of getting out of the difficulty has been to shift all the responsibility for hurtful and opposing tendencies in nature from the Creator to man. The creation, as God made it, was very good; but man sinned, and the consequences of that sin have been not simply the disordering of his own nature, but the introduction of disorder into every part of the creation. This explanation would be more helpful if it agreed with the facts of the world as we know them. To hold it we must believe that if man had not sinned there would have been no carnivorous animals. The different tribes, no matter how they might increase, would not have made life more difficult or have jostled one against the other, and this notwithstanding the fact that none of them, or of the individuals of which they are made

up, would ever have died to make room for succeeding generations. Plants would not have contested the ground with each other; the weak would not have suffered because of the strong; nor would the animal creation have found it necessary to feed on the vegetable. In a word, there would never have been throughout the length and breadth of creation such a law as the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. But, aside from the difficulty of conceiving such a state of things, we know, as well as we know anything, that long before the advent of man conflict and suffering and death existed.

Another and certainly less objectionable way of answering the atheistic argument has been frankly to acknowledge the difficulty of harmonizing the belief in a God of love with the facts of nature, and then to make various hypothetical suggestions which may send some streaks of light through the darkness. Thus it is pointed out that the object of many of the seemingly adverse circumstances of human life may be disciplinary. The spiritual principle of perfection through suffering, and the fact, with which daily experience makes us familiar, that the unmaking of fortunes is often the making of men, contribute their support to the hypothesis that most of the untoward arrangements of the world may work out for us "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." But here I would call the attention of the reader to the fact that all these most helpful suggestions involve the idea of creation by process. The conception which underlies them sees in man a being who is moving on an ascending scale; and the arrangements of the world are thought of as having been made with reference to a gradual process of development, of education, of creation, in short, of evolution. Valuable, therefore, as these considerations are, they do not satisfy, because they are out of gear with other fundamental tendencies of thought in orthodox teaching. The rest of the world has reached its existing status by a radically different method. Everything, man himself included, was instantaneously commanded into being. The benefits that accrue to him from conflict, therefore, seem to be of a special and exceptional nature. The groaning and travailing in pain of the whole lower creation has not been for it, as for him, a process conducive to higher results.

The inquirer must, therefore, either wrap himself in the thought of the transcendent importance of the human race till the condition of all lesser beings seems a matter too insignificant to occupy the attention, or, opening the eyes of his intellect and his heart,

he stands aghast at the spectacle of useless conflict, suffering, and cruelty that nature spreads out before him on its vast scale; and he is dumb before the objector who says: "If a tenth part of the pains which have been expended in finding benevolent adaptations in all nature had been employed in collecting evidence to blacken the character of the Creator, what scope for comment would not have been found in the entire existence of the lower animals, divided with scarcely an exception into devourers and devoured, and a prey to a thousand ills from which they are denied the faculties necessary for protecting themselves! If we are not obliged to believe the animal creation to be the work of a demon, it is because we need not suppose it to have been made by a being of infinite power."¹ Nor is this the only difficulty; for the theory of man which affirms him to have been created a developed being, with all moral perfections, finds itself strangely at variance with the hypothesis that the arrangements of the world were made with a view to his discipline and development. Having been created *perfect*, any change must have been for the worse; and his introduction into a disordered, struggling world, if construed as the result of design, suggests a most unwelcome inference as to the character of the designer. All the assistance, therefore, that is derived from seeing in an adverse environment the means of blessing man, through education, is counterbalanced by the consideration that this same environment was the means of his undoing, and of all the weakness and immorality and littleness which he has to fight against.

But what if science comes to our relief with an explanation of the world that harmonizes at once the facts of human experience, the principles of spiritual development laid down by Christ and his apostles, and the facts of the external world vouched for by investigators and classifiers in every department?

Evolution is such an explanation of the world. It teaches us that the opposing forces of nature are the necessary conditions of all progress, of all growth, even of life itself. It declares to us that the whole world has come into being, and is continued in being, through the agency of two factors, one of which may be called positive and the other negative. If we turn our attention to organic forms we find on the one hand we have germs with inherent powers, and on the other stimuli that call these into activity. Germ forces cannot take the initiative. They cannot stir themselves until certain appropriate stimuli are brought in contact

¹ Mill's *Essay on Nature*.

with them. They may lie dormant for centuries without detriment to the principle of life, waiting, like the sleeping princess of the enchanted palace, for that influence which shall call their powers into activity. When the appropriate stimulus comes the condition of rest is transformed into that of unrest, a state analogous to satisfaction is exchanged for one akin to dissatisfaction, a state of equilibrium for a state of conflict. The quickened germ appears as if aroused by the dim consciousness of a destiny which it must work out, of a self which it must push to realize. However fallacious this appearance may be, there is something in the springing of a germ that stirs a sense of relationship in the conscious soul of man. We cannot help having our sympathies enlisted, if our regard is fixed upon it. If it be only the germ of a plant it comes to have an individuality and almost a personality to our minds. It has a battle to fight. It has its enemies, and it has its friends. This, it may be said, is mere sentiment. But what then? If it be the sentiment of healthy souls it is significant; for the poetry of healthy souls is close upon the highest truth.

But to descend to fact. Let us carefully take note of this point. What we call the beginning of life in any organism is, in one aspect, as truly described if we call it an escape from death. The conditions that produce activity are also destroying influences. The egg is to be destroyed. The seed is to die. It is a crisis of existence in which that which has been is to be abolished; and henceforth continuance of individuality is possible only on condition of a supreme effort on the part of the mysterious life principle. Only through the exertion of energies latent in the germ is it possible, not for the old status to be retained, but for a higher phase of existence to be reached. The very first movement in this direction, therefore, is antagonism against forces that make for dissolution; and every successive movement is a sustained antagonism. Life struggles with death. The dormant principle, that till now gave no hint of its existence, becomes active and aggressive, and lives by what it conquers. It transforms the material that surrounds it, and makes it minister to its own necessities. Moreover, what is true of this first stage of existence is true to the end of it. Life is a struggle not alone or preëminently against other lives, but, more constantly and necessarily, against those very forces of nature that are the occasion of its vitality. This truth has been expressed by the physiologist Bichat in a definition of life which, to our ordinary apprehension of the matter, is most startling. He calls it "the sum total of the func-

tions which resist death." The supply of food, to secure which man engages in a hand-to-hand encounter with the world, is, when obtained, only the material with which to carry on a ceaseless battle with the oxidizing and destroying power of the air which he breathes. The reality of this struggle is not apparent to those who, because of vigor, are easily superior in the strife. Conflict is to them the joy of existence. It produces only exhilaration and the consciousness of well-being. But when the life powers begin to flag, then there is no doubt about it.

Now, in connection with this fact of universal struggle, let us note another that is closely related to it, namely, that life expands and increases in the direction of conflict. The law of mechanics, that movement is always in the line of the least resistance, does not hold when we come into the world of organized life. We cannot, indeed, reverse the proposition, and say that progress is in the line of the greatest resistance; for beyond a given point the pressure of the opposing forces becomes wholly, or in part, fatal. The life principle is engaged in a losing struggle; and unless retrogression is checked, the stimuli that were the occasions of life become the agents of "natural selection" for the removal of the unfit. But so long as there is progress it is in that direction where the battle is hotly contested. To say this is but another way of stating the fact that organisms develop most on that side which is most active. Animals that are determined in the direction of a predatory life develop skill and strength for attack. Those that are determined in an opposite direction develop swiftness to escape, or cunning to elude the predatory enemy. One great class of the laborers of Constantinople, the boatmen, have enormously developed arms; and another great class, the *hamals* or burden carriers, have a most remarkable superiority in legs and backs. The Arab develops strength for enduring heat by his resistance to the burning rays of a desert sun. The Esquimaux develops strength for enduring cold by his resistance to the Arctic winters. The negro of the Gaboon River bottoms acquires the power of defying the deadly malaria of that region, and his descendant of the American rice-swamps retains that power, by continuing to face the enemy. What is involved in the acclimatization of a plant or of an animal but the gradual calling out of new powers, or rather the development of powers in new directions by a conflict with unaccustomed opponents? What, in fact, is all that process which we call the "adjustment of the organism to environment," but the building up of new defenses in view of

new attacks, or the reverse, the abandonment of old defenses because attack in certain directions has ceased?

The process, let us notice, is a more or less gradual one; and the same forces which produce it will, except under favorable circumstances, result in extinction. Thus Indian corn, which is cultivated successfully from the Equator to the most northern settlements of Canada, has this wide range of climate in virtue of the facility with which it can adapt itself to circumstances. The maize of the tropical regions is not the maize of Virginia, that of Virginia is altogether unlike that of New England, and this again differs widely from that of northern Canada. Yet with care the southern varieties may be made to transform themselves into the northern; a transformation which involves a change in the height of the plant ranging from eighteen feet to eighteen inches, a change in the rapidity of maturing seed ranging from seven months to three, and such a change in the constituents of the seed that while in the south it is a comparatively light, farinaceous food it is in the north oily and concentrated. If seed from a southern latitude be planted not too far north, it will in the first year grow very tall, but will perfect only a few kernels in each ear. If these kernels are planted, there will, the second year, be a less developed plant, but more kernels perfected, which will, at the same time, show a considerable change from the original seed; but after a series of years the progeny of the introduced variety will differ in hardly any way from the native.

The same process, under favorable circumstances, takes place in animals. Greyhounds when taken to the high plateau of Mexico soon lose their breath in the extremely rarefied air, but their offspring suffer no inconvenience. According to Roulin, geese taken within a recent period to the lofty plateau of Bogota at first laid seldom, and then only a few eggs; of these scarcely a fourth were hatched, and half the young birds died; in the second generation they were more fertile; and when Roulin wrote they were becoming as fertile as geese in Europe.¹ I will delay the reader with but one more illustration: "*Artemia salina* is a small crustacean found in the salt lakes of America, Europe, and Africa. When this species is kept in water in which the quantity of salt is gradually diminished it becomes transformed, in a few generations, into what has been described as a distinct species, — *Artemia Milhausenii*, — and if the process of dilution with fresh water is continued until it finally becomes perfectly fresh the *Artemia* be-

¹ *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, vol. ii., p. 197.

comes changed into the well-known fresh-water form Branchippus, which has always been considered a distinct genus."¹

Now, in all this process of change and growth in response to, and in the direction of, pressure, we have reiterated to us, as by a thousand different languages, the lesson that many of those arrangements in the universe which we have been in the habit of considering purely prejudicial to life are in truth the indispensable conditions and promoters of it. Remove them and there would be no life. There would be simply equilibrium, stagnation. Had they not been called into play there would have been no creation. To find fault with them is simply to take the ground that non-existence is better than existence. While, therefore, there is the same necessity for regarding these agencies as pain-producing, we must at the same time recognize the fact that all the joy and gayety of animated nature proceed from them. We cannot conceive of life under other conditions. We have no grounds for assuming that it is possible under other conditions. Neither can we imagine happiness in the absence of either class of factors. There cannot be joy unless there are wants to be met. There can be no exhilaration except in the consciousness, real or illusory, of movement toward something better. There is no such thing as satisfaction except in the removal of dissatisfaction. The happiness of rest even is conditioned upon fatigue, and the recovery of a lost position.

Much of the dreadfulness of the lives of the lower animals is a pure fancy, the result of thinking into them sensations that are known only to human beings; or at least, of thinking into them an intensity of sensation that characterizes only the most highly strung men and women. The beetle that we tread upon does not, in all probability, even in corporal sufferance, feel as great a pang as when a giant dies. Nor does the savage undergoing torture feel anything like the suffering that is possible to the highly complex beings who sympathize with him. If, moreover, we may assume that the activities of the lower animals involve no moral quality, we must carefully eliminate from our conception of them all thought of moral suffering. Rapacity and cunning are their virtues, and in the exercise of these they find their greatest joy. There is the joy of pursuit and the joy of escape. To live and to reproduce their kind is the whole duty of life for them. And if life is not to go on forever it can hardly be supposed that greater misery is produced by sudden death, as captured prey,

¹ *Heredity*, by W. K. Brooks.

than by the long drawn out pain of gradual extinction. It is vastly easy for us to dream how things might have been so adjusted as to have produced more happiness and less pain; but we have to reflect that all reconstructions of a vast and complicated system, made by a mind that can grasp only some small part of it, not only may be, but *must* be, foolishness.

But a problem of much greater complexity and difficulty awaits us when we advance to the study of man's place in evolution. For we are confronted by the fact that the principle of coöperative creation has received in him a very great extension. That is, the part played by the creature is vastly augmented, while that of the originating and sustaining power is proportionally contracted. The creature has, as it were, attained its majority, and is henceforth to be a law unto itself. Reason and the moral sense are to become the organs of self-creation in a being of vast capabilities. Now, at this point, evolution and tradition manifestly part company, and tell us widely different stories. And it must be confessed that the picture of primitive man with which evolution presents us is at first sight a surprising one. I do not mean as regards his descent, for that seems to me neither astonishing nor shocking. But, from a moral point of view, the newly evolved man is a creature to wonder at. If, as we believe, his appearance in this world was planned by a wise and merciful God, should we not, if we had been permitted to anticipate his advent, have pre-figured the most highly endowed creature as something different from, and far more admirable than this? There would have been, I apprehend, as great a divergence between our imagination and the evolutionary man as that which once existed between the expectations of a Messiah, who was to appear in glory, power, and magnificence as the Saviour of the Jewish nation, and the humble reality of a weak babe, born of humble parents, in a stable; as wide a divergence as that which once set in contrast the dream of an accomplished supremacy of the powerful and magnificent Roman world and the fact of eleven illiterate men, without position, without wealth, without friends, without a leader, without anything except undeveloped power and the promises of one who had been crucified.

I have spoken of primitive man as distinguished by his vast capabilities; but the being which evolution postulates is certainly a creature of the most impressive disabilities. His superiority is as yet only beginning to make itself apparent, but his disadvantages as compared with many of the lower animals are amazing. In

fact, his equipment for the conflict of life seems to consist largely of wants, — wants of the most urgent nature which are to draw out and to educate the undeveloped powers within him. His hairless back makes him more dependent than the animals on clothing and shelter; yet he is far inferior to them in natural weapons with which to contest the ownership of a cave for a habitation. But out of these very disadvantages his superiority takes its rise. When life became too difficult without weapons he invented them; when it became too wretched without clothes he found out a way of covering himself. The club, the spear, the bow, and the flint arrow-head were all the product of his necessities; they were the response of a rational creature to environment. Every forced exercise of his intelligence and ingenuity in these directions lays the foundation for a further advance; and, step by step, he grows into a being that can observe, and think, and draw an inference. He discovers how to produce and sustain a fire; he learns to provide for the future. But even when he has reached this stage we have to recognize the fact that many of those things which through the goadings of necessity he has *learned* to do, and which each generation in its turn has to learn to do, many of the animals do better than he without reflection and without effort; and this brings into view the peculiarity of man which constitutes at the same time his most marked disability and the spring of that which is greatest in him.

It would at first sight seem a prodigious disadvantage to man that as his mind grew more versatile and more complex in its adjustments it lost, to a great degree, the power of transmitting its acquisitions. The wisdom of animals becomes, for the most part, permanently organic. The young of each creature inherits a large portion of the knowledge and adaptations of its ancestors in a developed form; and although in every case individual intelligence has something to do, so that maturity is far in advance of infancy, yet this fact is almost lost sight of in view of that characteristic which we call inherited instinct; a characteristic which, in itself considered, seems to mark the lower creature as the higher. Every new member of the superior race is obliged to begin at the beginning, and to acquire for himself that which his progenitors acquired for themselves. There are, indeed, vast accumulations of wisdom and improved conditions; but they are all external to the organism that can profit by them.

Man inherits, like the lower animals, his vegetative powers and adaptations in a developed state. As in them the processes of

digestion, assimilation, circulation, and respiration go on without any conscious effort. But he inherits only the capacity of becoming intelligent and skillful and mentally powerful. This capacity is, indeed, to a certain extent cumulative, so that a potential superiority is transmitted from one generation to another. But even this tendency to accumulation is limited and exceedingly uncertain. On the one hand we are astonished by the ability of some savages to appropriate the fruits of ages of toil and conflict; and, on the other, by the striking lack of power exhibited by the offspring of parents who seemed to have everything to bequeath. In the case of man, again, we have to remember that all the power accumulated in a family or a nation may be dissipated and irrecoverably lost by the indolence of one or two generations; while ants and bees retain from age to age, without diminution, the power of producing the working classes with all their wonderful organic intelligence unimpaired, though the members of the race that reproduce it have never exercised the powers which appear in their offspring.

This great difference between man and the lower animals is often obscured by the statement that man is born prematurely into the world, and that the feebleness of his infancy corresponds to the later period passed by some animals in the egg. But this does not in any way throw light upon or diminish the contrast between the man and the animal as regards inherited powers. At no period of his existence does man come into possession of that developed, apparently ready-made intelligence which carries the lower creature along without any consciousness of effort. Nor can we, by any arrangement of the facts, escape the rigid antithesis of a creature possessed of the greatest undeveloped powers but, at the same time, weighted down by the most serious constitutional disabilities. But why should we try to escape it? If man's creation has been, and is being, effected in conformity with the same principles that we have found to prevail elsewhere, if it is, and always has been, a coöperative creation, in which the creature has committed to him a constantly increasing share, then this is exactly what we should expect; and a little reflection will show us that man's constitutional infirmities have been as necessary for his creation as his positive capacities. He has, in fact, to thank his poverty as to intellectual possessions for the development of his intellectual powers.

It is worth our while to notice, in this connection, that the individual man stands affected by this last-mentioned deficiency in

much the same way that the race is affected by its apparent maladjustment to external nature. As man, collectively considered, finds himself in the midst of a material environment replete with treasures adapted to his nature, which he cannot appropriate or even discover except by exerting and thereby progressively developing his otherwise dormant faculties, so the child of civilized parents comes into a mental environment of the greatest complexity and splendor, — the property of individuals of the race to which he belongs, but not as yet *his* property. No matter how advanced the society into which he is born, or how well descended he may personally be, no part of the accumulated mental treasures of the race can be his, except as the exertion of his individual energies and the development of his personal powers make them, in some modified form, his own.

The immense range for mental and moral divergence thus opened to individual man distinguishes him from the highest of the brute creation by a gap even wider than that which separates the latter from a polyp. For as the physical organism of each of the myriad creatures that constitute a coral reef is immovable, so, to a great degree, are the minds of the lower animals. What each one possesses is, generally speaking, the counterpart of that possessed by every other member of the species to which it belongs. We are, it is true, made familiar with a considerable degree of individuality in the animals that are closely associated with man as his companions. But the differences which distinguish one dog from another are as nothing when compared with the different worlds in which men of developed natures may live. Measured by their physical organizations, developed men may seem as closely related to each other as the members of any other race, but when their higher wants and acquired characters are taken into the account they ramify into species more widely separated than the most divergent of the animal tribes. In the one case the differences that strike the eye are very great, but reflection will convince us that the ends aimed at by such varied activities, manifested through such curiously different organizations, are essentially the same. In the other case the peculiarities which appeal to the eye are slight, but the differences, as indicated by direction, are world-wide.

We have then traced the development of *personality*, the crowning attribute of man, directly to a peculiarity which, at first sight, appeared to be his most marked constitutional defect; and it will require but little reflection to convince us further that the

whole *social* life of man, without which he could also develop nothing of his higher nature, also finds its indispensable condition in this very same disability. All the responsibilities and affections of the family, as well as all the enduring ties that bind men together as nations, must be traced to the prolonged period of physical and mental insufficiency that characterizes our infancy. Nor have we exhausted the subject at this point. We have developed only one illustration of a great principle which obtains throughout human evolution. This, then, is our conclusion:—

Man was formed in the image of God. He was so formed not as regards his perfections, but solely as regards his possibilities. He may become Godlike; and one of the chief characteristics of his increasing Godlikeness is the continued development of his power as a *creator* and worker together with God.

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(*To be continued.*)

BACH AND HÄNDEL.

ONE of the noblest instincts of our humanity is that which seeks to honor the great men of the past, to perpetuate their well-earned fame, and to incite the living to godly emulation of their virtues. But for this instinct, alive and operative in every age of the world's history, we should have failed of the bulk of our greatest literature, both ancient and modern, and be bereft of one of the choicest inspirations to high literary work, and one of the most valuable agents in social, moral, and religious development to-day. Biography, therefore, in its purest form, is not only one of the permanent orders of literature, but it is preëminently the one, in its relation to fundamental truth, that stands in most vital connection with both intellectual and moral life; for principles and tenets and opinions are nothing unless embodied in the conscious and communicable experiences of human lives; nay, even faith itself is dead if it cannot vindicate itself in human history as the means by which the divine love reveals itself to men and transforms them into its own image. Biography—the writing of a life—is, therefore, vastly more than a story of pedigrees and chronologies; it cares but little, comparatively speaking, for mere dates and places, for petty accuracies of circumstance and incident, ex-

cept as these may throw light upon or assist in the understanding of the character and work it seeks to portray; its aim is simply to ascertain and reveal the life as it was lived, the forces that contributed vitally to its development, and the outraying influences that streamed from it.

For some obvious reasons a great man's life cannot in this sense be measured and recorded while it is yet in progress upon the earth. As nearness to an Alpine height forbids a just appreciation of its proportions, so *contemporaneity* is fatal to a true biography. The overwhelmingly pathetic fact concerning the vast majority of the great men and women of human history, — that they were underrated, misunderstood, and even contemned and persecuted by those who lived with them, — what is it but the enacted expression of this law? Since it is the quality and power of any given life, rather than its variety or peculiarity of incident, that distinguishes it from other lives, it comes to pass that no generation recognizes many great men among the living, and also that but few men, worthy to be called great, can expect a recognition of their real quality while they are here. No wonder, therefore, that the two great men, whose names stand at the head of this article, were misunderstood, misrepresented, and most infamously abused in their day and generation. Princes in God's realm of art, into whose inner being the very spirit of his harmony was breathed, it were wonderful indeed if the common life that surged about them had received and welcomed them with adequate appreciation of their high estate. Well for us if, after the lapse of these two hundred years, under the tuition of their priceless works we are yet able in any competent way to estimate the noble qualities of heart and mind, the constant faithfulness to high ideals, the unswerving obedience unto the heavenly visions, that made it possible for them to achieve those works. Their especial greatness consisted not in mere musicianship, technically considered, — in virtue of which they may properly be compared with other tone-poets who preceded them, or were contemporaneous with them, — but in their perception and mastery of the subtle relation that exists between the feeling or sentiment of religious truth and the most delicate and intangible artistic material with which they wrought. Writing music is one thing, but it is another and vastly different thing to portray a great and worthy sentiment, under divine illumination and empowerment, in the delicately sensitive language of music. The few to whom this is given are not only born into their destiny, as poets are, but they

must stand (consciously or unconsciously) very near to the central spirit of all rightness and beauty, from whom, in all humility and reverence, they catch their inspiration. The world may well listen while they sing, and after the human voice is silenced echo on the strain from generation to generation as best they can, gathering whatever inspiration and strengthening are possible from the story of the life which breathed itself into their music.

Bach and Händel were born in the year 1685, within less than a month of each other, and in towns that almost joined; each lived to a comparative old age, working under inspirations essentially similar, in spite of very dissimilar natures and surroundings, and yet they never looked upon each other. The best labors of each were devoted to the service of music as the handmaid of religion, and, in spite of all other work of any kind, they both are known and revered to-day only in connection with those labors.

The history of sacred music during the Christian centuries preceding this year 1685 had been strangely checkered; at one time protected and propagated by the great men of the earth, emperors and popes, and then cast out from the church, interdicted by councils, and placed under the ban of society. But it is to pious and able men of this period (as Pope Gregory, Guido of Arezzo, Hucbald, Franco of Cologne, and others) that we are indebted for all the fundamental laws of harmonic construction, of notation and rhythm, that we know to-day. It is also to them that we owe the development of that expressive power in music which enabled it to adjust itself to each successive phase of religious thought and sentiment, as knowledge and spirituality advanced, and furnish constantly increasing proof that it would one day outrank all other arts as a means of realizing and uttering the deepest emotional life. One of the prominent forms in which these efforts were manifested was the spiritual drama, that degenerated into the miracle-plays of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Originally intended to gather up and express the spirit or sentiment of a Bible scene or story, it doubtless accomplished much of good for multitudes of the converts from paganism, who but for its influence might have been drawn back into the heathen practices that beckoned them with most alluring persistency. One of the abuses against which the righteous wrath of the Reformers was directed was the profanation of these plays by the association with them of vulgar and impudent songs, and one of the first beneficent ministries of the Reformation was the purification of the plays, and the restoration of the church music, of which they formed a part, to its old-time dignity.

As early as the very beginning of the sixteenth century we find traces of Bachs as prominent workers in this music-reformation; they are near Arnstadt, in Erfurt, in Gotha, and other places, notable men everywhere, deeply religious and always influential. The immediate ancestors of our *Johann Sebastian Bach* were located in Eisenach, an important city on the borders of the Thüringen forest, during that fateful second quarter of the seventeenth century, when the Thirty Years' War made the outward history of Germany "little more than a record of battles and sieges, with scant breathing-places of peace," too infrequent and too short to admit of much recovery from the exhaustions and demoralizations of the dreadful conflict. It was, therefore, amid every circumstance of adversity that the Bach family grew to its full stature; and it was under the constant discipline of the most strenuous life that the foundations of that virtue and power were laid which characterized every member of it, with a single exception, during six generations, extending over a period of more than two hundred years. Into this royal heritage of character and ability Johann Sebastian was born March 21, 1685.

His early life was simple and uneventful. The death of his parents, just before his tenth birthday, transferred him to the home of an elder brother, who was jealous of his proficiency in music, and unreasonably severe in his treatment of him, so much so that the boy at the age of fifteen started on foot, with a comrade, for Lüneburg, in search of better opportunities for study. Here his beautiful soprano voice obtained for him at once a place in the Michaelis School, where he received good instruction for three years in the ordinary branches and music. In 1703 he was made organist of the new church in Arnstadt, which position he held four years, in the course of which time he made the acquaintance of Buxtehude, the famous organist of Lübeck, and laid the foundation of his profound knowledge and passionate love of the noble instrument to which, as the only one capable of interpreting the deepest religious sentiments, he devoted so much of his maturest strength.

After the four years' service in Arnstadt he went to Weimar as court organist, a main element in the duties of which position was to adorn the simple grandeur or pathos of the chorale in the service by preludes, interludes, and varieties of accompaniment; which work was vastly congenial to him, giving unlimited opportunity, as it did, for the inexhaustible fertility of his invention to weave itself sympathetically about those massive and inspiring

themes, full of the highest associations, and embodying the grandest and profoundest sentiments of the religion which he loved. Probably the vast majority of these improvisations were never written down, but nearly one hundred and fifty of them were, either by himself or others, and they will remain an invaluable treasure to organists, to all time. To this Weimar period of Bach's life belong the majority of his works for the organ, chorale elaborations, fugues, toccatas, and fantasies, in which his strong religious feeling united with his wonderful creative power to build up masterpieces of music-work more nearly approaching perfection than was ever attained before or has been since. In 1714 the sphere of his activity was greatly enlarged by his election to the directorship of the royal concerts, a position sufficiently remunerative to enable him to continue his studies and to travel somewhat in order that he might know and hear the great musicians of his time. It was upon one of these tours, in 1718, that he made effort to meet Händel, but without success. For nearly forty years Bach's history had followed the common course of the greatest musicians of his generation, and he had now reached what was held as the most dignified rank in his craft. He had passed through the stages of chorister, violinist in the orchestra, and organist; he was now Kapellmeister in a ducal palace, with abundance of leisure for the prosecution of high music-work and great incitement to it; measured by conventional standards of success, he had nothing further to look for or to desire. He was summoned, however, in 1723, when his fame was at the highest, to exchange this position for that of a schoolmaster and cantor in Leipzig, a town not then known as having any great regard for music, but as being utterly absorbed in petty business, — "a trading town." A great descent, surely, according to common estimate, but not when the high artistic aims and aspirations that controlled him are taken into the account. He already began to chafe under the ever-present necessity of secular composition and performance, and to long for the opportunity and the call for more definitely religious work; this the cantorship of the Thomas-schule in Leipzig afforded, and, though the seductive voices of fame and emolument, in connection with the Kapellmeistership, sounded loudly in his ears, he heard them not, but chose the field that presented him the opportunities and incentives for which his whole soul longed. This was the great crisis in Bach's life: remaining in Weimar, he would, doubtless, have continued to be the idolized favorite of the court, and his name would have passed into his-

tory, as did those of many of his ancestors who were prominent musicians, to make no permanent impress upon the thought or the remembrance of men; following the guidance of his own royal nature and his divine endowments, his whole intellectual and spiritual personality seemed to enlarge and develop by the herculean labors and extraordinary responsibilities into which he was led. The unique *greatness* of the man, and the unparalleled influence which he exerts to-day over all musicians of every land and school, date to this thirty-eighth year of his life and the work he then assumed in Leipzig, so large a proportion of which concerned itself directly with the church and its services that, in spite of all hindrances and embarrassments thrown in his way by envious musicians and by the officials of the city, his heart rested, while his eagerest desires for great and worthy work reached more and more of their fulfillment. His own definition of music, written at the commencement of this epoch of his life, indicates with what consecration of purpose and loftiness of aim he entered upon it. "Music," said he, "can have no other final cause than this, that it minister solely to the honor of God and the refreshment of the human spirit; whereof if one take not heed, it is no proper music, but intolerable discord."

Compelled by the exigencies of the regular Sunday services and the frequent festivals at the St. Thomas and Nicolai Churches (the music for both of which he furnished) he entered at once, and with greatest eagerness, upon the composition of those inimitable church cantatas which recreated for Germany, after the ushering in of the Reformation, the function of the choir, and which served to perpetuate the fine service of "musical impression" in connection with public worship, so unfortunately destroyed in the eager individualism of that religious period.

The uniformly high quality of these compositions and the spiritual conception of the Scripture texts which they present show Bach's high artistic thought of the services of public worship, and the earnest religious spirit which pervaded all his practical work in connection with them. Nothing common or unworthy might by any means be admitted to place in the service of praise in God's house; from the smallest minutæ of his choral accompaniment to the whole rotund meaning and purpose of a grand festival service, with its voluntaries of noble preparation and interpretation, its mighty tide of harmonies, bearing the song of the people upon its bosom as the ships are borne upon the sea, and its dignified and impressive choir services,—all must be in

the highest, most consecrated sense, *artistic*, — worthy of the place, the occasion, and the glorious religion which they served.

To this last and most prolific period of Bach's life belong most of his inimitable cantatas, his great oratorios for Christmas and Easter, his four masses, and the greatest of all his works — the sublime Passion-music, to the composition of which everything of his previous work pointed, and of which all that he afterward wrote was a commentary. It is in connection with *this* work that Robert Schumann said, "The world, for this one composition, owes him almost as much as religion does to its Founder." Many Passion oratorios had there been before, yet this one, written upon the text as given by St. Matthew, stands apart from them all, and alone not only in the colossal proportions and superlative beauty of its musical structure, but still more in the simple majesty, the tender sympathy, and the mighty religiousness with which it portrays the wonderful story. Even Bach's own other Passion oratorios (according to St. John and St. Luke, respectively) do not fairly enter into comparison with it. Mozart shed tears when he looked at the dust-covered manuscript of it; Mendelssohn was moved to the supreme enthusiasm and the most glorious triumph of his life that he might do it honor; and to-day the whole world of musicians bows down before it in an homage to which it was never before summoned by human work or worker. In whatever way we look at this wonderful composition, — as to the easy mastery over all the canons of musical form and development which it everywhere displays; the sublimity of its themes and the gigantic power with which they are combined and elaborated; the truthfulness with which it presents the spirit of the gospel narrative; the power with which it depicts the respective attitude maintained toward the new religion by the Jews and the Christians; the pure beauty with which it invests all the utterances of the Saviour; and the sublime height to which it carries the solemn scenes of the Passion and the Crucifixion, inspiring them with a still deeper and diviner tenderness than that which breathes through the infinitely touching Scripture words in which they are narrated, vindicating its claim to the highest greatness nowhere more conspicuously than in the single confession of inadequacy, when, at the utterance of the last cry, "Eli, Eli, lama asabthani!" it stands in silence, as with folded wing and tear-dimmed eye, gazing into the depths of that sorrow unlike any other sorrow, and of that love which passeth knowledge, — or, if we take into consideration the sacred awe which is breathed into

all its utterances as the supreme event draws near, and the breaking of that last most agonized hush by the heart-rending cry of the bereaved disciples, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," — from whatsoever point we regard it, this work must stand before us as the greatest product of the consecrated human skill in the realm of religious music. All that music can do in the interpretation of the central spirit of faith and love and firm devotion, in contrast to the bitter and cruel spirit of Phariseeism and irreligion, is here done, and we point to Bach's Passion-music as a triumphant attestation of the unique function of music, and an ever-present consecration of it to the service of Him, the very spirit of whose blessed gospel it is so wonderfully fitted to represent. The Passion-music according to St. Matthew's text was first given in the St. Thomas Church on Good Friday of the year 1729, and was repeated each year until 1741, when, owing to many circumstances (the principal one being the utter inability of the people of Leipzig to appreciate the work), it was withdrawn, and not reproduced until Mendelssohn presented it in the same old church, exactly one hundred years afterward, on Good Friday, 1841; since which time it has regularly been given there on the anniversary of the day, and it is now given as regularly in many other cities of Europe, and even of England and America, — the recognized masterpiece of sacred musical composition.

Would that this rapid sketch of Bach's life and work might properly be brought to a close here, in the contemplation of his superlative triumph, without necessitating the mention of those painful trials to which he was subjected during the last twelve years of his life, — jealous oppositions on the part of loud-voiced music-artisans, who forced themselves upon the attention of the public as Bach's rivals, and obstacles of all sorts thrown in his way by the ignorant people in control of governmental affairs, which involved him in ceaseless quarrel, until his external and official life became a weariness and a great burden to him; indeed, we can have only heart for the bare mention of these things in order that the rounded life-story may be before us. At work constantly upon his giant tasks, during the year following 1740, a painful disorder in the eyes manifested itself, complicated with nervous disease, that, little by little, undermined his constitution, and culminated in complete blindness and utter prostration. Ten days before his death his eyesight suddenly returned to him for a few hours, after which strange experience, plunged into yet deeper depths of gloom, he requested his nephew to write, at his dic-

tation, the old chorale "When we are in depths of need," as the expression at once of his faith in God, and of his piteous cry to Him for help. As death drew near, in justification of his faith, and in answer to his cry, the veil over his spiritual vision was lifted, and as light from the supernal hills flooded his soul, he bade his nephew change the chorale, and substitute the one — "Herewith I come before thy throne." Familiar with the great thoughts of death and eternity, as he had often lingered over them in chorale and cantata, they had no terror for him now; and so, with the triumphant words of the Apostle Paul upon his lips, "Es ist nun nichts verdammliches an denen die in Christo Jesu sind," on the evening of July 28, 1750, as the heated day gave place to the calm and cool, he went on, and took his place before the Throne.

Unlike Bach, the flower and crown of a race of born musicians, there seems to be no record of any artistship among the ancestors of Georg Friedrich Händel, who was born in Halle, February 23, 1685. The chief thought of his parents concerning him, at the first, seemed to be to stifle the overwhelming inclination for music which had possessed him from very infancy; they banished all music from the house, separated the boy from all musical companionship, and even took him out of school when it was found out that he might learn notes there. The foolish willfulness of the parents was, however, fully equaled by the obstinacy and ingenuity of the boy, who, by the aid of dumb spinets concealed in dark corners of the house and of illicit conferences with other young music-lovers, contrived to gain sufficient knowledge of the forbidden art to attract the attention and patronage of the Duke of Weissenfels when he was but seven or eight years old. Once installed in the prince's favor, and placed under the careful instruction of one of the best organists of the time, Zachau of Halle, he made extremely rapid progress, so that at fourteen he commenced his public life as a performer on the harpsichord. In 1703 he went to Hamburg as second violinist in the opera orchestra under the direction of Keiser, a celebrated manager of the times. It was during this engagement that our impetuous hero almost lost his life in a duel with Mattheson, a metal button on his coat saving him to salutary repentance and many another conflict with his violent temper, out of all of which experiences he at last achieved a grand and noble character, albeit rugged and forbidding to the end of his life. Inspired by the success that attended the performance of

second and third rate operas under Keiser's expert management, he aspired to the reputation and emolument of a composer of such works, and in 1705 his first effort was produced, under the name "Almira," with such success as wholly to intoxicate him and launch him into the fever and tumult of opera-writing, in connection with which he visited Italy in 1706 and made the acquaintance of the prominent composers and connoisseurs of that land. Four years later, when he turned his steps northward again, he found his residence in the bright and frivolous home of the opera had, however, done vastly more for him than to foster his love for that sort of composition, creating in his heart a desire for serious composition like that of the churches in that country, which desire grew and strengthened until, after twenty years of efforts at compromise, he was obliged to yield to it, and give himself wholly up to the writing of sacred music. A brief tracing of the course of his life until that crisis must suffice: In 1709 he went with a musical friend to Hanover, where he so pleased the Elector that he was persuaded to become his Kapellmeister, with the condition of a year's absence in England. The condition of music in London when he arrived there was extremely favorable, and he leaped at a bound into popularity with the musicians and the people. So beset was he with engagements of all kinds, and so entranced was he with the unexpected cordiality and generousness of his reception in the great metropolis, that he postponed his return to Hanover a full six months beyond the stipulated time, going back, when he could no longer postpone it, intent only upon some plan by which to break his engagement and return to London. This was easy for a man of Händel's dogged persistency and (we must add) the unscrupulousness with which, at this time of his life, he was likely to seek the accomplishment of otherwise unattainable ends; and so we find him back again in London, this time for the rest of his life, at the close of the year 1712. This breach of covenant with the Elector was unfortunate for him when, two years after, as George I. he ascended the throne of England; but the witty device of the "Water-music" for the king's *fête* on the Thames secured reconciliation, according to common tradition, and the composer was visited with no severer punishment than the addition to his revenues of a royal pension of two hundred pounds a year. Meantime his most successful opera, "Rinaldo," written in 1711, just before his tardy return to Hanover, was meeting with unprecedented success, and his famous chamber concerts in the house of

the "musical small-coal man" were attracting much attention; but he was increasingly dissatisfied with secular composition, and in anticipation of the solemn service of thanksgiving to be held in St. Paul's Church, in celebration of the Peace of Utrecht, he made earnest application for the commission to compose a grand *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* for the occasion, and, although such a service had never before in England been committed to any other than an Englishman, he obtained the appointment. When the composition of these works was fairly entered upon, he discovered that his previous theories of musical combination and construction were wholly inadequate to the demands made upon them by these great themes. For more than two weeks he studied the first five words of the *Te Deum*, — "We praise Thee, O God," — and sought in vain for a competent musical setting of the exalted sentiment contained in them. As he studied and struggled his conception of the wonderful theme grew until it seemed as if no earthly music could be worthy of association with it. At last, in the midst of the night, the sounds came, and with them the dawning of a new era in the composer's life, and to this composition we may date the beginning of his greatness; his whole thought of religious things and his entire conception of the possibilities of music in connection with them were changed. He became an earnest student of the Scriptures, and, though in external things he remained much the same rugged, self-willed character as before, "capable," as Chrysander says, "of tremendous polyglot swearing on occasion," he was yet, in his central nature, a changed man. The foundations for deep religious experience and for great religious interpretations were laid. The years between 1715 and 1738 marked the birth and development in him of utterly new sentiments and principles concerning his music, and, though he wrote many operas during this time, they lacked more and more the popular flavor of the older ones, until finally the people did not care to hear them. Criticism pronounced them "stilted," "ecclesiastical," "undramatic," and Händel was forced to look financial failure squarely in the face. The Duke of Chandos came temporarily to his relief, and received from him a testimonial of gratitude in the twelve fine compositions for the church known as the Chandos Anthems. His first oratorio, "*Esther*," was also written while he enjoyed the patronage of the duke. These bright days were soon over, however, and he was again plunged into reverses of all kinds, so that by the year 1737 he had lost nine thousand pounds, and was almost at the end of his resources. But, discour-

aged as he was, and suffering in health as well, he manifested a magnificent superiority to the power of adversity by the production, in rapid succession, of characterful works of many kinds, culminating in the "Israel in Egypt," in 1740, up to that time his by far greatest work, as it was also in some respects the greatest dramatic composition extant.

The crisis was now fairly reached, and he confessed himself conscious of but one controlling aspiration, — to compose music worthy of being associated with the grand truths of Holy Scripture. This great change in his character and sentiments is nowhere else so completely illustrated as in the circumstances attending the composition of his master-work, "The Messiah."

Possessed by a higher and finer enthusiasm than he ever knew before in connection with his work, and impelled by it to a closer and closer acquaintance with the Bible, the great central truth of all, embodied in the person and work of Christ, stood out before his mind and heart with growing conspicuousness, until it engrossed all his thought and feeling; so that on a visit to the Duke of Devonshire in Dublin, in November, 1740, at a time of great distress among the poor of Ireland, it seemed wholly natural to him to connect that song of the angels over the plains of Bethlehem, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill to men," with the abject misery that he saw about him, and to ponder the question whether these glad tidings, which were to be "unto all people," might not be freshly preached to these suffering ones by his consecrated art in such way as to bring the "great joy" of them down into their hearts, while at the same time it touched the hearts of those who had the power to alleviate their physical misery, and prove itself afresh a message of God, "sent to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty unto the captives, and the opening of the prison unto them that are bound." Away back in his boyhood, in sunny Italy, he had heard the shepherds at nightfall calling together the sheep that had strayed away from their folds with the simple, but exquisitely touching and beautiful, melody known there as the "Pifferari," and it seems wholly natural that the alluring strain should come to him again and work its way into his music, when to his mind the Divine Shepherd was seeking his lost and suffering ones in that oft-afflicted land. So the simple piping of the Italian shepherds became a pastoral symphony of most wonderful beauty, issuing in the utterance of the simple words by which the Scripture tells the sublime story of Christ's coming unto our world to seek and to

save that which was lost. From this, as a central point, the construction of an oratorio that should include on one side of it the prophecies of the Messiah's coming, on the other side the Bible utterances concerning his person and work, and closing with the triumphant song of those who by Him are redeemed from sin and suffering, was as necessary for Händel as it was fitting and timely. The oratorio, written (as records upon his manuscript prove) in twenty-three days, was first performed in the Fishamble Street Theatre, in Dublin, April 13, 1741, realizing four hundred pounds sterling for the benefit of the poor of the city, and setting in motion influences that tended greatly to alleviate the poverty and wretchedness of the people of Ireland for many years.

But how vastly greater, finer, and more far-reaching than any such immediate result of the composition and performance of the oratorio is the spiritual power which it has exercised over thousands upon thousands in all civilized lands since that time! What multitudes have been uplifted by it into raptures of religious fervor or melted by it into tears of penitence and love! With what almost unaccountable emphasis and power has it for many and many a one in all these generations invested those sacred words: "He was despised and rejected of men, — a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief;" "Come unto me, all ye that labor, and I will give you rest;" "I know that my Redeemer liveth!" Then it is wholly impossible to estimate the power and influence of the immortal Hallelujah Chorus, which has voiced the praise and adoration of thousands upon thousands, while upon its magnificent ascription, "And He shall reign forever, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords," as upon mighty wings their souls have been borne aloft into transports of faith, in which the invisible seemed almost visible, and the heavenly worship to have begun. What visions the great composer must have had of the excellent glory, — into what rare intimacies of divine revealment was he permitted to enter, — when this transcendent chorale came to him, its massive phrases succeeding each other in tremendous crescendo, each overpowering its predecessor, and all interpenetrated and engirdled with hallelujahs that seem shouted by choirs of angels and archangels, — the energies of heaven uniting with the ascription of earth in one mighty Anthem of Praise! We are not astonished to hear him say of it: "I did think I did see all Heaven before me, and the great God himself!"

This chorus, however, is a song of praise in view of the inauguration of the work of man's redemption, in anticipation of the

experience of that redemption in individual hearts and lives; so there is still a grander song to sing when, in the prophetic thought of the composer, the ransomed thousands gather about the Throne, and cry, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, and hath redeemed us unto God by his blood, to receive power and wisdom and strength and riches and honor and glory and blessing." That this final chorus of the oratorio is not anticlimactic, after the glorious "Hallelujah," is, therefore, not that the music is grander, but that it expresses the final conception of the redemptive work, and furnishes a worthy climax to the whole stupendous drama.

Händel wrote twelve oratorios after "The Messiah," but by as much as this transcendent theme eclipsed that of them all, by so much was the music associated with it greater than any that he wrote after. Ten years after "The Messiah" was given to the world, and very soon after the death of Bach, Händel's eyesight began to fail him, and in 1753 he became utterly blind. This terrible misfortune afflicted him profoundly at first, but his manly soul and his firm Christian faith conquered, and he became not only resigned, but strong and cheerful in his work, though not until he had passed through some almost superhuman conflicts with himself, as, for instance, at a rendering of his oratorio of "Samson," within six months after he had lost all sight, in spite of all his moral energy, he could not listen untroubled to the intensely pathetic air of the Hebrew Hercules in his sightlessness, "Total eclipse! No sun, no moon! All dark amid the blaze of noon!" "Then it was," says a writer of the time, "that they saw the grand old man, who was seated near the organ, grow pale and tremble; and when they led him forward to the audience which was applauding, many persons present were so powerfully affected that they were moved even to tears." Soon the great strength of the master began to fail, and in spite of his constant activity and the flattering assurances of his friends he sank lower and lower until, on the 6th of April, 1759, he directed a performance of "The Messiah" for the last time, and, failing rapidly, he died just before midnight of Good Friday, April 13th, the anniversary of the first production of the oratorio in Dublin. Burney tells us: "For several days before his death he expressed the wish that he might breathe his last on Good Friday, 'In hopes,' he said, 'of meeting my sweet Lord and Saviour on the day of his resurrection.'"

It has not been the purpose of this article to present a comprehensive account of the lives of these two great musicians, nor at

all to offer a critical analysis of any of their works, but merely, as all the world is now celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of their birth, to gather up a few of the more important facts concerning them that seem to the writer to throw light upon the real secret of their greatness. A large number of interesting and valuable items, that are very prominent in all the biographies of them, have, therefore, been ignored, and special emphasis laid upon less exterior things, — the motives by which they seemed to be governed at critical junctures and the wonderful and most manifest leadings of God, by which, though of so different natural bent, they both were drawn whole-heartedly into the service of religion. Among the valuable inferences to be drawn from the investigation are these three concerning music in its relation to culture and character: — First: That it is capable of dealing with the profoundest sentiments of the human heart, and of furnishing for them a mode of utterance wholly its own, in which it transcends all other arts by as much as it is the most spiritual of them, and is so little dependent upon external forms, — the language of the soul addressed immediately to the soul. Second: That, therefore, music is *great* only when it performs this royal service, however beautiful and valuable it may be in the depicting of other and lower phases of the emotional life. Third: That, therefore, music, in its highest exercise, belongs to religion, by virtue of its intrinsic sympathy with the grand inspirations and sublime outlook of faith, as well as by the unique service it has rendered and must always render in the expression and development of its interior life and power. It surely is not without significance that Confucius could find no other way in which to picture the final felicities of the blessed than by describing heaven as a "House of Hymns." Händel had highest Scriptural warrant for his sublime prophetic visions of "harpers harping with their harps," and of the "multitudes that no man can number" singing the new song of praise and adoration before the Throne of God and of the Lamb. To this also agrees the profoundest experience of thousands upon thousands who have come under the influence of the highest music and felt its power; what exaltations of faith, what exquisiteness of sympathy, what uplifting of purpose, what consecration of affection and desire has it not wrought! How real and almost tangible do the spiritual realities that lie beyond the veil sometimes appear, under its potent sway, and how often have our hearts burned within us as, after the music has gone, we have recognized in it the accents of a purer and finer than mere human utterance, — its

surging harmonies bearing in upon our soul the consciousness of divine communings and revealings that abide after the vision itself has fled! Alas, that, in spite of it all, we fall down again so quickly to lower levels of thought and life, building so little after the pattern showed us in the mount! The consciousness of shortcoming, however, only accentuates afresh the ennobling and strengthening influence upon heart and mind which lies at our hands in these immortal compositions, and emphasizes the duty that rests upon us as individuals and as members of the Christian church to prize them more eagerly than ever, assisting every right-minded effort to educate the people to an understanding of them, and especially insisting that the majesty and the deep religiousness, the fine fervor and splendid inspiration of them, may more and more enter into and characterize the music of our church services, to the displacement of that which is meretricious and unworthy, until men and women become ashamed to parade *themselves* in meaningless performances in the sanctuary, and are constrained to restore to its old-time and indefeasible place of power the "Service of Song in the House of the Lord."

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EDITORIAL.

THE CRUSADE AGAINST COMMON SCHOOLS.

II. SCHOOL OR SCHOLAR?

WE assume that the article in our last number on the relation of common schools to health has been read, and that various general considerations need not be repeated. It remains to offer a few observations on the school in respect to its avowed objects. Our question is, Does the educational system educate? Does it secure the best mental training of children and youth? We take up the discussion with more cheerfulness than before, both because intelligent educators admit that methods of teaching are capable of improvement, and also because a defective intellectual training, bad as it is, is not as bad as lasting injury to health. It is our purpose, not to compare this specific method with that, for we confess ourselves unfurnished for such comparison, but to indicate some of the evils which seem to be associated with the workings of the system as a whole.

These evils, we believe, may be traced to one cause, namely, the tendency to exalt the school above the scholar. Theoretically, every one will admit that the school is for the scholar. Practically, it is too often true that the scholars are for the school.

1. The very magnitude and mechanical perfection of the school system tend to produce this reversal of means and ends. Teacher and scholar are carried along by the prescribed regulations. At a given moment, day after day, confusion becomes quietness, and then follows an exact order of exercises. All sit, then all stand, recitations succeed one another as if moved by clockwork, and the days go on with an invariable repetition of lessons. At the beginning of a year the teacher receives forty or fifty scholars who have reached a certain point in the school-books, and at the end of the year passes them out at another fixed point, and repeats the process year after year. That boy is No. 25, in Room 14, Intermediate School No. 3. The impression is somewhat like that made by a European *table-d'hôte* dinner. The dishes must be served in regular order. The waiters are intent, to the point of solemnity, on starting off each course the instant the bell strikes. If a guest orders wine he is No. 137, his neighbor 191, names being of no consequence. To the waiters, at least, these daily dinners, with such order and precision, are not for the guests, but the guests file into the room in order that there may be the dinner, — and the fees. The principal of a school is set over fifteen rooms containing six hundred scholars classified into groups of forty. If he visits Room 9 at five minutes past eleven he knows he will find a class reciting geography. The supervisor of schools pulls out his watch (we quote from Stanley Hall) and remarks that "at this moment

so many thousand scholars are reciting their grammar lesson, and in so many minutes they will all turn to arithmetic." That is to say, the public school, especially in cities and large towns, has become a great institution, and, as is always the case in human society, there is danger that the institution will be regarded more highly than the ends for which it was designed. There should be order and method, but not unvarying order and inflexible method.

Every teacher who endeavors to do the best for each scholar is aware that the tendencies of the method must be resisted. System is only an external condition to prevent confusion and aimlessness, and to bring the teacher most directly into connection with the taught. It is as bad in education as in mechanics to consume so much of the power upon the movements of the machinery that only a fraction is left to be expended on the product. That systematizing is somehow wrong which is more likely to hinder than to help the work of teaching.

2. It is becoming a serious question whether the school year and the school day are not too long even for the best results in education itself. That sessions and terms should be shortened in the interests of health is to us unquestionable. But apart from the physical strain, it is also true that the ceaseless grind of school, year in and year out, is likely to defeat its own object. No one believes that the object of education is to stuff the brain full of facts on a wide variety of subjects. Cramming and digestion are not often found together. The principal object is to awaken and keep alive the desire for knowledge. Now there is obvious danger that so much schooling will create positive distaste for books and for study. It is difficult enough, when hours of study are abridged and vacations are long, to avoid such a result. But it is almost inevitable, under the existing system, that study from books will come to be considered a burden or a nuisance. A boy of eleven years entering the grammar school sees before him, for the coming eight or ten years, — and for him that is practically forever, — nothing but school, only an endless repetition of tasks. The weight of the system rests oppressively on him. The end seems remote and the way dreary. He hardens himself by degrees, determining to devote as little time to study as may consist with safety, and to have all the fun he can get as he goes along. Work which is so protracted and inexorable seems like slavery. He approaches his daily task with reluctance, and goes through it with listlessness. Mental training under such a condition can have little value, yet we venture to say that nine tenths of the pupils in public schools are in precisely that condition, and that it has been induced not so much by any perverse disinclination to mental labor as by the sheer weight of the system and the never-ending round of lessons to be memorized. Nothing is so fatal to zest in any pursuit as sense of monotony. There may be too much even of a good thing. The bow stretched too long is only a piece of bent wood.

It is this fatal tendency of the system which perpetuates the custom of marking scholars on the results of their study. Artificial stimulants

must be applied to make the jaded mind do its work. Pride, ambition, hope of reward are appealed to. Children are deliberately put into competition and rivalry, as if life would not soon enough become selfish, and all because the public school has become a tread-mill. Recitations and examinations minister to pride and vainglory on the one hand and to mortification on the other. We can scarcely command words to express our detestation of the practice of subjecting children to the control of the most unworthy motives, to say nothing of leading them to place an exaggerated value on facility in repeating lessons from a book. We are convinced that the supposed necessity for applying these unnatural incentives is a result of giving so enormous a disproportion of time to the school. It is against nature to keep children in school so many hours in the day, so many weeks in the year, so many years in the life. Healthy desire for knowledge cannot be worked to such an extent, therefore unhealthy stimulants are used. Lessons are learned, not to gain knowledge, but to get marks. It is hoped that a little will stick and be remembered after the examinations, possibly into active life. And this is called education. Jules Simon has been quoted as saying that we do not prepare our pupils for life, but for examinations.

It was declared, without contradiction, at an annual meeting of the Social Science Association, that scarcely any inventors have been taught in the public schools. This may be merely a coincidence, but not improbably there is the relation of cause and effect, since nothing could well be so fatal to originality as a complete course in the common schools. It is often remarked that the successful men are usually found to have had few early advantages. The meaning is that their youth was not spent in a school-house. The fallacy is that early advantages and going to school are treated as interchangeable terms. The writer of this article esteems it one of his early advantages that he was brought up under the district school system, and so was never kept in school more than six months in the year, while for part of the time he got off with only three months each year. He knows that he is therefore a healthier, and believes that he is also a wiser, man.

3. There is a bad tendency back of all, which is almost inseparable from the magnitude and classifications of the system. It is the tendency to exalt book-knowledge above fact-knowledge. A series of text-books is prescribed, and it is made the business of the teacher to carry the entire class through all the books. It is not denied that there is constant improvement in the books provided for schools, and that concrete, natural methods of instruction are coming more largely into use. But it remains true that knowledge is more likely to be associated with the book, and with its place on the page, than with the realities which the book represents. To learn a lesson and to recite it is made the labor of the scholar. He who can most closely reproduce the book will get the highest mark. One recitation crowds so upon another that little more can be done than to hear the lesson repeated. If one scholar fails the next is called on.

Geography is of flat maps and confusing definitions of longitude, equator, promontory, and peninsula. Maine is yellow and Texas green. North is up and South is down. The scholar knows more about the boundaries of Austria than about the towns and rivers and sea-coast close by. Grammar is a dry study, by which one learns how to analyze a sentence and parse the words and find the agreement of a verb with its noun, but is not necessarily practice in correct speaking. A boy is heard to say, "I hain't got no time to coast, 'cos we've got to be 'xamined in grammar tomorror." A torrent of slang and bad English fills the street just after the *grammar* schools set the children free. Some teachers themselves are not too fastidious to say "those kind" and "he don't." There is more book-knowledge than applied knowledge. It is not meant that all teachers are bound slavishly to the text-book. Some have a happy faculty of explanation. But the tendency is unmistakable. So many pages must be learned every day, and unless much care is taken knowledge will go no deeper than memorizing of abstract rules and of such details as the book may furnish. To train powers of observation and reflection, which, besides stimulating the desire for knowledge, is a principal function of teaching, is quite another thing than to get parts of a book into a child's head. Public school education seems to forget that there are other faculties besides memory. We are not prepared to outline the better method, but we are confident that book-knowledge needs to be enlarged into fact-knowledge, and we hold educators in duty bound to find a way to do it. The boy who is so dull with a lesson knows well enough how to snare a rabbit or keep the count in tennis. The girl who is stupid beyond endurance as to books takes in at a glance a pretty costume, and could go home and almost reproduce it. That was a great advance when it was found that the correct method is to teach a child words first and letters afterwards. It was a revelation concerning the workings of a child's mind. The time must come when books on all subjects will put the concrete before the abstract, and when much knowledge of numbers, values, speech, the physical world, will be gained without any intervention of books. Books are part of the system, and are used so freely, not for the sake of the scholars, but for the sake of the system.

We venture on two suggestions, or rather predictions. One is, that the optional method must work down into the common schools. It must be made practicable for scholars to take only part of the prescribed course, and thus to attend only one session, or only at certain hours. Parents must be allowed and invited to choose the studies they wish their children to take. Some one sneers that this will make hodge-podge of education, that parents are not competent judges, etc. But the choice in all grades below the high school is within comparatively narrow limits, and will not go far astray at the worst, while the important object is to reduce the time of attendance. When parents do not select but do prefer half time, the choice will be left to teachers. The introduction of electives, either as between particular studies or as between partial courses,

would do much to weaken the worship of the system and to lighten its oppressive weight. It would also invite parents to a more direct interest in the education of their children.

The other suggestion has to do with industrial and practical education. Public schools must either provide for it, or, if that is not practicable, give time for it. It would be better for a majority of the boys if one half of the day could be spent in a workshop, learning some handicraft. It is to be desired for the girls that they should learn sewing and household work, and should acquire skill in decoration with needle or pencil. It must be remembered that a majority of children in schools which are supported at public expense are from the families of working people, and will themselves engage in manual labor. An English writer, advocating industrial education, observes that it is quite as important for children, who by and by are to support themselves, to learn trades and domestic service as to know the heights of the Himalayas or the names of the Plantagenets. If it is not practicable to provide in the school itself for instruction in trades and crafts, the system should, at least, give time for such instruction. The best education is given at present in reform schools, where the school-room has the morning and the workshop the afternoon. It is a striking fact that progress with books is as rapid as with scholars who spend six hours over their books. The experiment has been successfully tried in Boston of teaching practical branches in evening schools. Phonography and book-keeping have been chosen by large numbers. More than fourteen hundred pupils have been in attendance the past winter. Why may there not also be workshops where boys, under the direction of skillful artisans who could give a few evenings each week at small expense, may learn the use of tools? Nothing interests a boy more, and for many boys nothing could be more serviceable. Boys in well-to-do families provide themselves with printing-presses and jig-saws, to which they devote all the time at their disposal. Why should not poor boys be provided with facilities of the same sort? Such supplementary education will be attempted at first by voluntary, benevolent effort. There is no reason why it should not be provided at the public charges, as well as instruction in algebra and in the history of the ancient Romans. But, at all events, time should be given for industrial education, even if there is not specific provision. The system should be arranged either by alternate terms, dividing scholars into sections, — a method ably advocated by Mr. Hale, — or by partial and elective courses, which shall leave part of the year, or part of the day, free for other uses. And when fact-knowledge of industrial and practical pursuits has a prominent place it will be sure to react on the book-learning of the school to produce more tangible and satisfactory results.

We repeat a former observation, to which all educators do well to take heed, that the children of the better social classes are disappearing from the public schools. The reason is because the system is so unwieldy. So inflexible a system is bad for health, and bad for the education of the

individual scholar. If studies could be chosen, and hours reduced, the school would retain many of those children. When Americans are dissatisfied with public institutions, instead of clamoring for reform, they say nothing, but quietly make other arrangements to secure the desired ends. Thus private schools are established to do the work which belongs to public schools.

We have spoken thus freely purely out of friendliness to the common school. Its indirect but chief value will be gone when it is practically confined to one social class. It is desirable, for many reasons, that children from all classes should be educated together. But unless the public schools become more elastic the separation will inevitably go on. If the system defeats its own objects, other appliances will be chosen by those who can afford to pay for them.

THE "VAGUENESS" OF A DEFENSIVE ORTHODOXY.

WHENEVER theology makes any new advance toward the larger apprehension of truth, the immediate advantage in point of clearness seems to be with those who insist upon things as they are. They have the formularies of doctrine and the definitions which have passed over into the current literature of the church. But the advantage is apparent only and does not remain. It is impossible for those who oppose progress to retain for long time the attitude of simple resistance. The position becomes strained and uncomfortable. It is not pleasant to the majority of men of conservative tendencies to deal continuously in denunciation, or to be satisfied with those who assume to speak in this tone in their behalf. Comparatively few care to earn the reputation of being dogmatists, and fewer still wish to be known as out of sympathy with the more serious and earnest thought directed toward the theological problems of the time. Hence, after the season of denunciation of the new is over there invariably comes the season of explanation and defense of the old. Qualifying interpretations of existing doctrines are given, alternatives to proposed changes are suggested, and among the bolder minds there is found to be a dangerous tendency toward speculation. And whenever this time comes, the public have the opportunity of judging whether "vagueness" is the exclusive characteristic of the new in distinction from the old in theology.

There are signs that the opposition to the present new movement in theology has reached the stage of defense. The utterances of its exponents have become for the most part explanatory and apologetic, and are in some cases, unless we have lost the power of judgment in this matter, open to the oft-repeated and monotonous charge of "vagueness." We will refer without argument to a few recent utterances upon the doctrine of sacred Scripture and upon eschatology.

In the new Congregational Creed the article upon the Scriptures reads as follows: "We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testa-

ments are the record of God's revelation of himself in the work of redemption ; that they were written by men under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit ; that they are able to make wise unto salvation ; and that they constitute the authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged." When the creed was submitted to the churches it was proposed by one of the dissenting members of the Committee upon the Creed to amend the article by inserting the word "infallible" before the word "record," by substituting the word "inspiration" for "guidance," and by placing "only" before "authoritative." We confess to have been not a little surprised, in the light of the dissent expressed in these amendments, to read, in a recent conservative exposition of the doctrine of the Bible, the following explanation of the terms in question: "In treating of the divine authority of the Bible we cannot well avoid using the word 'inspiration,' but we would define the word with reference to the results attained rather than with reference to the divine process through which the results have been secured. In calling the Scriptures inspired and infallible we intend to say that they are an adequate and authoritative record of the divine revelation upon which the Christian religion is founded, and that they therefore are, when properly interpreted, the final appeal in all distinctive questions of Christian faith and practice. . . . Infallibility can be attributed to the Bible only as a whole and as related to its designed effect in human history. The doctrine of inspiration implies that, as a divine factor in human history, the Bible is perfectly adapted to its work." In other words, the creed says almost precisely what the words which it was insisted should be used mean. It is said that "inspiration" refers naturally to the results attained rather than to the divine process through which they have been secured ; therefore the creed uses the term "guidance" as best fitting the "process." It is said that "infallible" as applied to the Scriptures means that they are an adequate and authoritative record of the divine revelation ; therefore the creed uses the term "authoritative." The attempt to construct the creed in the interest of a defensive orthodoxy called for the use of terms which had become by common confession ambiguous. They might, according to the intent of their use, produce a certain popular impression, but they could not abide any careful discussion. We have also been told of late that "all the books of the Bible are equally inspired" — a statement which no one would seriously think of maintaining except under such qualifications as would change the popular idea of equality. To say, for example, that the Book of Esther is "*equally* inspired" with the Gospel by John, or that the Song of Solomon is "*equally* inspired" with the Epistle to the Romans, is to the last degree confusing and misleading. The vagueness to which we call attention, in this insistence upon the use of terms like "infallibility in record" or "equality of inspiration" as applied to the Scriptures, is the vagueness of inconsistency. Such terms when *explained* approach much nearer to the idea of a progressive than

to that of a defensive orthodoxy. The popular impression which they naturally create, whether they are inserted in creeds or uttered at councils, cannot be and is not maintained in clearness and accuracy. They are like all words

"That palter with us in a double sense ;
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope."

Turning, now, to some of the recent utterances upon eschatology we find a vagueness of quite another sort, and of not a little danger, we fear, to the cause which it seems designed to aid. From a report of an examination, republished as a lesson in orthodoxy, we extract the following question and answer. The candidate was asked about "the condition of the heathen who have died without the knowledge of Christ." To which he replied that "such souls cannot be held accountable for the rejection of the historic Christ, but only for sinning against the light which they had," and then added : "The Holy Spirit is not confined to the communities which nestle under the shadow of church spires, or what we term the pale of Christianity, and many may be brought to Christ through its influence outside all such limits." We are constrained to ask in good faith, What does this mean ? What was the object of introducing this reference to the work of the Holy Spirit outside the pale of Christianity ? If the purpose was, as the motive of the question would suggest, to offer some sufficient relief to minds burdened with the condition of those who die without the knowledge of Christ, does it not suggest too much ? Grant that the Holy Spirit is accomplishing any large and sufficient work without the incentives of an historic Christianity, — does not the concession "cut the nerve of missions ?" Does it not cut the nerve of Christianity ? Does it not contravene the words of Christ that the Holy Spirit would convict the world in respect of sin because they believed not on Him ? Does it not make the Cross of none effect as a motive ? Might not the crucifixion have taken place in some other world, if the knowledge of Christ and of his death can thus be put aside ? Or if, on the other hand, it was not intended that the answer should carry any such suggestion, what was its purpose ? If it simply meant that here and there in heathendom one may awake to righteousness under the touch of the Spirit, as has been elsewhere said in cool mathematical terms, — perhaps one in a million, — where was the relief of the answer ? The real question put to the candidate remained unanswered.

In our uncertainty we turn to another utterance upon the same subject, as given in the report of another examination. The author, who is well known for his somewhat zealous opposition to "modern speculations," offered the following as a "supposition which he thought might be very helpful in bringing together brethren of conservative convictions and those who were indulging in modern speculations : " —

"I believe that the final character and destiny of mankind are determined by the deeds of the present life; that men will be judged according to the light

they have, as to the issues of this life; but that if we can suppose a person to enter the other world ready to answer the question, 'Dost thou believe in the Son of God?' with the other question, 'Who is He, Lord, that I might believe on Him?' there is the same reply for him as in the narrative of the gospel: 'I that speak unto thee am He;' and that no man in heathen lands or Christian lands, in this world, or in any world, who has the heart to receive Christ can be rejected of Him."

Again we are constrained to ask, What does this mean? If it means that any, who without the help of Christianity may have gained the Christian spirit, upon meeting Christ and accepting him will be accepted of Him — if it means this simply, we see no occasion for the suggestion. We are not aware that the church of any generation or of any sect has ever had a doubt upon the matter. We are led to infer, from the fact that the suggestion is offered as a basis of reconciliation between the two wings of orthodoxy, a larger meaning. Can it mean, then, that those who have never had the motive of a personal and atoning Redeemer brought to bear upon them may yet be brought under this motive, and so have the opportunity of accepting Christ? We dare not without permission attach this meaning to the candidate's words, for to allow this is to allow the larger hope of "modern speculation." And we are still further confused by the remark which follows in the report of the examination, that the author of the suggestion "did not believe that the thing supposed had any existence." This remark precludes the necessity of any serious endeavor to determine his meaning. We confess ourselves at a loss in respect to the meaning of both the statements which we have quoted. We cannot interpret the utterances either of a prudential or of a poetic eschatology.

We will not add to the illustrations adduced. We have to remark, in conclusion, that there are two kinds of vagueness as related to theology. There is a vagueness which is hopeful as having in it the promise of the larger and higher apprehension of truth. It is the necessary attendant of any new theological movement. It has characterized the present movement which those without have called the new theology. Those who are its advocates do not deny this characteristic; they are not ashamed of it, they are not impatient under it. The time is coming for definition; it may be nearer than could have been at first expected, but it is a matter for congratulation that the time has not been unwisely anticipated.

There is another type of vagueness which is the result of hesitancy and uncertainty in the attempt to deal with the more real and urgent problems of theology. It takes the form now of inconsistent statement, and now of suggestions and speculations, of which it is impossible to estimate the intention or the value. It is the vagueness which attends the expression of a merely defensive orthodoxy.

THE WEST AFRICAN CONFERENCE.

THE West African Conference has won for itself an honorable place in the history of human progress. As a body representing fourteen Powers it was invested from the start with dignity. Its constituent and associate delegates were men specially qualified for the service to which they were called. Prince Bismarck, Baron de Courcel, Sir Edward Malet, Count de Launay, the Marquis de Penafiel, fitly represent the diplomatic ability of our time. The plenipotentiary from Spain was Count de Benomar, a descendant of Columbus. The assistant delegates were taken from the most intelligent and experienced geographical and colonial specialists connected with the Foreign Offices of Europe. From Germany there was a consular superintendent; from France the Geographer to the Ministry; from Spain the Hon. President of the Geographical Society of Madrid; from Portugal the Secretary of the Geographical Society of Lisbon; from Italy the Director of the Florentine Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology. England had a very strong delegation, reinforced by the skill in international law of Sir Travers Twiss. The United States contributed to this body of experts Mr. Henry M. Stanley.

When the Conference assembled, November 15, 1884, it was hoped that its labors could be accomplished in a month. It dissolved February 26, 1885. This extension of time indicates the embarrassments and difficulties which arose in the course of its proceedings. That it conquered these obstacles and brought to an important conclusion each one of the questions submitted to it in the original programme is a testimony to its patience and spirit of conciliation. Whatever defects time may show to be latent in its agreement, whatever matters may prove to have been too indefinitely or diplomatically treated, we cannot doubt that a great work has been accomplished in the interest of peace and good-will and of the extension of Christian civilization.

We have already sketched the proceedings of the Conference in its dealing with the first and second questions submitted to it, and have given the substance of its definition of the commercial basin to be opened to all nations for intercourse, commerce, science, and Christian missions.¹ When we recall how recently most of this vast territory was a *terra incognita*, there is an almost startling significance in the fact that the Conference adopted an article extending over the entire area the Convention of the Universal Postal Union, as revised at Paris, June, 1878.

The principle of neutrality was extended over this entire area. We give the text of this most worthy and gratifying conclusion:—

¹ In the final Act of the Conference we find no change in the text of the Declaration respecting Freedom of Trade as previously published in this *Review* (vol. iii., p. 178)—apart from some additions—except that in I., 1, for “by Lake Tanganyika in the east,” are substituted the words: “by the eastern watershed line of the affluents of Lake Tanganyika on the east.” On the same page, line 9, for “168,” read “somewhat more than 400.”

CHAP. III.

"Declaration relative to the Neutrality of the Territories comprised in the Conventional Basin of the Congo.

ARTICLE 10. "In order to give a new guarantee of security to trade and industry, and to encourage, by the maintenance of peace, the development of civilization in the countries mentioned in Article 1, and placed under the free-trade system, the high signatory parties to the present Act, and those who shall hereafter adopt it, bind themselves to respect the neutrality of the territories, or portions of territories, belonging to the said countries, comprising therein the territorial waters, so long as the Powers which exercise or shall exercise the rights of sovereignty or protectorate over those territories, using their option of proclaiming themselves neutral, shall fulfill the duties which neutrality requires.

ARTICLE 11. "In case a Power exercising rights of sovereignty or protectorate in the countries mentioned in Article 1, and placed under the free-trade system, shall be involved in a war, then the high signatory parties to the present Act, and those which shall hereafter adopt it, bind themselves to lend their good offices in order that the territories belonging to this Power and comprised in the Conventional free-trade zone shall, by the common consent of this Power and of the other belligerent or belligerents, be placed during the war under the rule of neutrality, and considered as belonging to a non-belligerent state, the belligerents thenceforth abstaining from extending hostilities to the territories thus neutralized and from using them as a base for warlike operations.

ARTICLE 12. "In case a serious disagreement originating on the subject of, or in the limits of, the territories mentioned in Article 1, and placed under the free-trade system, shall arise between any signatory Powers of the present Act, these Powers bind themselves, before appealing to arms, to appeal to the mediation of one or more of the friendly Powers, and in a similar case reserve to themselves the option of having recourse to arbitration."

The interests of peace are still further cared for by special articles of the "Declaration relative to Freedom of Trade," and the "Act of Navigation for the Congo."

CHAP. I.

ARTICLE 8. "In all cases of difference arising relative to the application of the principles established by the present Declaration, the governments concerned may agree to appeal to the good offices of the International Commission by submitting to it an examination of the facts which shall have occasioned these differences."

CHAP. IV.

ARTICLE 25. "The provisions of the present Act of Navigation shall remain in force in time of war."

The "International Commission" to which reference is made is provided for in another article. It is to be constituted by delegates from the present or future signatory Powers, — each Power being entitled to one delegate, — and will be established as soon as five of these Powers have appointed their representatives. It is specially charged with the execution of the provisions of the Navigation Act for the Congo. Al-

though a resort to it in cases of difference is not made obligatory, something is gained by its existence and the formal suggestion of an appeal to it.

The second chapter of the "General Act" contains a prohibition of the slave trade in the Conventional basin of the Congo, and pledges the Powers to employ all the means at their disposal for its suppression, and the punishment of any who are detected in its prosecution.

Chapter V. expresses the result of the deliberations on the third point in the programme:—

"Declaration relative to the essential conditions to be observed in order that New Occupations on the Coasts of the African Continent may be held to be effective.

ARTICLE 34. "Any Power which henceforth takes possession of a tract of land on the coasts of the African Continent outside of its present possessions, or which, being hitherto without such possessions, shall acquire them, as well as the Power which assumes a protectorate there, shall accompany the respective act with a notification thereof, addressed to other Conference Powers, in order to enable them, if need be, to advance any claims of their own in bar.

ARTICLE 35. "The signatory Powers recognize the obligation to insure the establishment of authority in the regions occupied by them on the coasts of Africa sufficient to protect existing rights, and, as the case may be, freedom of trade and of transit under the conditions agreed upon."

It will be noticed that Article 35 applies only where there is actual occupancy, and not to the case of a mere protectorate.

The action of the Conference requires ratification. A year's time is allowed for this. Meanwhile the signatory Powers are bound to each other not to take any steps contrary to the stipulations agreed to by the Conference. Provision is made for the admission of other Powers to the same agreement.

One indirect but most practical and important result of the Conference is the establishment on a secure footing of the International African Association. Until within a few days of the opening of the Conference the United States was the only Power which had recognized the Association. Now all the governments represented in the Conference, with possibly the exception of Turkey, have made formal treaties with it. Yesterday it was in the air. To-day it is a State with a definite territory. We intended to call attention to its position and prospects, but our space is exhausted. Its deliverance from the perils which of late have compassed it is a matter for sincere congratulation. May its blue banner with its central star prove a sure pledge of peace and light to millions of inhabitants of the Dark Continent.

HISTORICAL CRITICISM—ANCIENT RELIGIONS.

THE DEITIES OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

It is proposed to give a condensed statement of the more important features of the Egyptian pantheon. A few preliminary thoughts suggest themselves:—

1. The fact must be recognized that men do not accept any one theory concerning the origin of religion. If religion be a rule of life, based on a conscious submission to the divine will as absolutely right, we shall find that scholars give different answers to the question: How came the early nations by such a rule? Some believe that the earliest religions were the basest and became better by the slow process of evolution; some declare that the rudimentary form of all religion is the propitiation of dead ancestors; others hold that, in his primeval innocence, man had a pure conception of a spiritual, infinite being, but gradually lost this idea and substituted for it the deification of matter; and others still insist that the remarkable peculiarities of the heathen gods can be accounted for only on the supposition that, in the distant past, there was given to man a direct revelation which foreshadowed the essential character of Christianity. These theories will be harmless unless they prejudice our minds against facts merely because those facts do not corroborate our theory.

2. Certain ideas are common to all religions. It has been said that "in religion everything new is old and everything old is new." There has been no entirely new religion since the world began. We find in all religions, worthy of the name, a belief in some kind of a divine power, a distinction between right and wrong, a consciousness of sin, the habit of offerings or sacrifices to the gods, and the hope of a better life. Men have been unnecessarily startled by the words of Augustine: "*Res ipsa, quæ nunc religio Christiana nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec deficit ab initio generis humani, quousque Christus venerit in carne, unde vera religio, quæ jam erat, cepit appellari Christiana.*"¹ To the same effect are Peter's words to Cornelius: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him."² The Master himself says: "Many shall come from the East and the West and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven."³ In every nation and in every age there have been examples of pure living and right thinking. Egypt may not afford an exception.

Ancient religions, one and all, have recognized a conflict between good and evil. Whether we go north, south, east or west, we find a struggle between noble heroes and demons or monsters. This one thread connects all religions. Perseus, the child of the golden shower, was doomed to be the slayer of Akrisios. Oedipus solves the riddle of the Sphinx and saves the lives of Thebans whom the monster would else have devoured. The burden of the Vedic hymns is the conflict between the sun-god Indra and the serpent Vritra. We shall not be surprised to find in the Egyptian mythology allusions to a similar conflict. We should be surprised if we did not.

Early religions have also employed the most glowing imagery in their

¹ *Retract*, i. 13, 3.

² Acts x. 35.

³ Matt. viii. 11.

descriptions of the new-born sun. Sometimes the "King of day" was a Titan who had strangled the serpents of night before he drove his chariot up the sky; sometimes he was a warrior whose eye struck terror into his enemies; sometimes he was a wise chieftain skilled in mysteries; sometimes a beautiful youth in love with the Dawn; sometimes a wise and mighty being rolling a ball up the heavens which began to roll down again so soon as it reached the zenith; sometimes a bridegroom going forth each morning out of his chamber and rejoicing like a giant to run his course. In Egypt it was Ra fighting the serpent Apepi, or Osiris put to a violent death amid his beneficent efforts for humanity, but ascending into heaven to become the judge of the world. Similar myths, poetic conceptions, or personifications,¹ whichever name one prefers, are common to Greeks, Romans, Germans, Norsemen, Hebrews, and Egyptians.

3. Observe the proclivity of ancient nations to express themselves in mythical language. With our scientific ideas we speak of the sun as causing the dawn, or as following the dawn, but Oriental writers described the Sun as loving and embracing the Dawn. What is with us a sunset was to them the Sun growing old, decaying, dying. Our sunrise was to them Night giving birth to a brilliant child. In our spring they saw the Sun or the Sky embracing the Earth with the warmth of passion, and pouring treasures into its lap. Slavonic nations represent the Sun as a woman stepping at evening into her bath, rising in the morning refreshed and purified; or they speak of the Sun as sinking at night into her mother's arms. In the Aryan mythology the Dawn died in the arms of the Sun, or the Dawn fled when the Sun pursued, or the Sun shattered the car of the Dawn. All this meant was that the sun had risen, the dawn had disappeared. In the Greek myth of Daphne the Sun is pictured as the lover of the Dawn, to whom his embrace must be fatal. She is the child of the Earth, springing up just when the first flush of light trembles across the sky. Daphne flying from Apollo as he seeks to embrace her, and her beautiful complexion fading before his growing splendor, is simply the sunrise. In Egypt the sunrise was the struggle of a god with darkness. Rays bursting from his eyes became javelins piercing the Typhonian Serpent. The personified eye hurls its arrows at the Serpent and compels him to vomit up what he had swallowed the night before, namely, the Day. This is the process by which day and night are made to follow each other. Sometimes the sun was a cat devouring a venomous reptile. There is no complete list of the forms under which the Egyptians represented the sun. Their name is legion.²

4. The Egyptian religion had its *local* peculiarities. The Egypt which Menes brought under his dominion was divided into nomes, each one of which had its principal deity called by a specific name. For instance, the same part was played by Ptah at Memphis, by Noun at Philæ, by Atmu at Heliopolis, and by Amun at Thebes. The influence of each of these divinities changed with the ever-changing political influence of the separate cities. Ra is usually regarded as the nucleus and chief of the entire system of deities. He was known and honored in the XIIth Manethonian dynasty, but only when Thebes had acquired supreme power over the entire land do we find Amun-Ra recognized as "King of

¹ See Dr. Blackie's distinction between myth and allegory, *Chambers's Cycl.*, art. "Mythology."

² "The Egyptian deities are innumerable." Renouf, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 85.

all the gods." The different schools of theology established in the chief cities swept away the unity of religious forms, not the unity of religious doctrine. The school of Heliopolis, at the feet of whose teachers sat Pythagoras and Plato, worshiped the god of the setting sun, while the Theban priesthood worshiped Amun, "the Hidden One." The author of the tenth chapter of Genesis recognizes the difference of religious forms and customs between Upper and Lower Egypt. Among the sons of Mizraim he mentions Naphtuhim and Pathrusim; the former are the Na-Ptah, that is, the worshipers of Ptah, the Memphites; the latter are the Pa-Hat-har-es, that is, the worshipers of Hathor in Upper Egypt.

5. The Egyptian religion was modified by the lapse of *time*. The religion of the Ptolemaic epoch was not the religion of the IVth dynasty. Between the earliest Memphite tomb bearing the cartouche of a king of the IIIrd dynasty and the last stone engraved at Esneh there was an interval of perhaps four thousand years,¹ without counting the invasion of the Hycsos, the Ethiopian or the Assyrian rule, the Persian conquest or the Greek colonization. Egypt passed during these four thousand years through many vicissitudes of moral and intellectual life. During the eighteen centuries that Christianity has existed, how many times it has changed the formularies of its faith, Professor Schaff, in his "History of the Creeds of Christendom," requires three octavo volumes to tell us. How many times, then, ought the Egyptian priesthood to have changed their religious forms during the forty centuries which separated Theodosius from the kings who built the pyramids? During the old empire a hymn was written in the Valley of the Nile "to the One God," "the One of One;" yet on the monuments created during the later years of the new empire some persons find what seems to them evidences of an unbridled pantheism. The most untenable position that can be entertained of the Egyptian religion is that it was stationary. Like all other religions it was ever making new departures, taking on new forms, yet without sacrificing the primary and fundamental belief. No one who has seen with what persistency old ideas and customs cling to the Valley of the Nile would suspect that any change could ever be effected there; but the mythical personages did change their physiognomy and their names. The later symbolism became so exuberant that to some minds the original design seems to have disappeared under the richness of the ornamentation. The time to which our attention is now directed is that of a dynasty which governed Egypt previous to the birth of Moses, when the kings were indigenous, themselves members of the priesthood, and imbued with a profound reverence for their religion as it was while yet uncorrupted by the influence of foreign elements.²

¹ It is the intention of the writer not to express an opinion respecting the chronology of Egypt, but merely to indicate the current belief. Among the numerous estimates which have been made of the number of years between the accession of Menes and the birth of Christ the following are worthy of notice: Böckh 5702, Mariette 5004, Brugsch 4455, Lauth 4157, Lepsius 3852, Bunsen 3623 or 3059, Wilkinson 2691; Lieblein assumes the total years of reign from Menes to Christ 5672, from which he deducts 1777 years of contemporaneous reign, leaving 3895 B. C. as the beginning of the reign of Menes. This date corresponds with the epoch of Adam as computed by Rydberg, namely, 3893 B. C., the Deluge at 2432, the advent of Abraham in Egypt 2042, the Exodus 1322.

² To sketch the religious revolution attempted towards the close of the XVIIIth dynasty would extend this article beyond the prescribed limits.

To make a classification of the more important divine forms, to learn something of the nature, mutual relations, and moral influence of the deities of ancient Egypt, — this shall be our aim. It must not be forgotten that the Egyptian pantheon is an entire building to be constructed of stones which have been broken into fragments, and which bear no mark to show the place they occupied in the original plan. It is evident, then, with what reserve it is proper to enunciate the less conclusively established facts. On no subject do Egyptologists differ so much as on the *religion* of the Egyptians. Possibly some persons may be disappointed that the unsettled problems are still vastly more numerous than the positive results.

I. THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE GODS.

Among the various classifications which have been suggested, the preference will be given, for our present purpose, to the one which recognizes the fact that the entire mythology of Egypt turns on the history of the sun-gods Ra and Osiris. The simplest distinction, and the most comprehensive, is the distinction between a diurnal sun and a nocturnal sun. If to these be added a third, the retiring and returning sun, we have a centre around which the principal deities may be grouped. By the comparison of their legends light may burst forth which will enable us to determine the character and end of the Egyptian religion.

If asked about the genealogy of the gods, the reply of the monuments is that the germs of all things were found within the infinite depths of Nou, the primeval ocean. This god is described as self-existent; or, to use an expression dear to the Egyptian schools, "He begat himself." This god was believed to be the only intelligence in existence, the only deity existing by the necessities of his own nature; or, to translate the Egyptians literally, "the only Begetter who is not begotten," "the Father of fathers," "the Mother of mothers." From Nou sprang Seb, the earth, a masculine deity, and Nut, the heavens, the celestial vault, the firmament, a feminine deity. The gender of these gods is the reverse of the Greek conception. The more important part of practical theology was played by the diurnal and nocturnal sun. Ra was called Amun, "the Hidden One," at Thebes; Ptah, "the One who forms," the emblem of embryonic life, at Memphis; Atmu, "the Closer," the setting sun, at Heliopolis. Atmu was called "the Unknown," "the one existing only in the Abyss," "the Sun before it ever rose,"¹ for in Egypt it was the evening, then the morning, which was the first day. Mentu, "the god of double force and burning heat," was only another name for Ra.² He was Ra in his warlike attributes. This was the deity to whom Ramses II., according to the poem of Pentaür,³ offered his prayer for aid on the day and on the field of battle. Kheper-ra was simply Ra in the morning, the producer and sustainer of life. His symbol was the scarabæus, which was supposed to be the author of its own existence. Besides these were Harmachis, the visible sun-god, of whom the great Sphinx was the symbol, and Horus, the midday sun.

The nocturnal sun, the sun of the under-world, was Osiris. The divine

¹ "I am Kheper-ra in the morning, Ra at noon, Atmu in the evening." *Turin Papyrus*, 133, 10.

² *Book of the Dead*, 8, 2.

³ *Records of the Past*, ii. 67.

symbols of twilight and dawn were Isis, the evening twilight; Nephthys, both morning and evening twilight, one word for both dawn and sunset like the Hebrew *שָׁחַר*; Suchet, the fiery dawn; Hathor, the receptacle of the nocturnal sun, the lower hemisphere into which the sun sinks. Hathor, "the Dwelling of Horus," out of which he comes and into which he returns, like Nephthys stands both for the dawn and the evening twilight. Besides these were Neith, the great goddess of Sais, sometimes identified with Isis; Shu and Tefnut, who represent the two dawns, "the Two Eyes of Horus," "the Two Children of Ra," also called "the Two Lions," and once are represented by one lion as though they were but a single divinity. Sometimes Shu was the rising sun. Among the subordinate deities we meet with the names of Tehuti, the moon, "the Measurer," a masculine deity, the mediator between Osiris and Set, — sometimes called Thot, the scribe of the gods, "the one who always speaks the truth," — Maat, physical and moral law, unerring order, the power that governs the world in strict justice, and many others.

II. THE RELATIONS OF THE GODS TO EACH OTHER.

In the Egyptian pantheon we find no such distribution of offices, no such social intercourse as existed among the gods of Greece. In the Valley of the Nile there was no such divine assembly, no such conference and quarrel as was witnessed on Olympus.¹ The division of Olympus into two factions during the Trojan war² has no counterpart in Egyptian mythology, though the contest between light and darkness, the desert and the Nile, plays there a conspicuous part. Ra was once so enraged with men on account of their wickedness that, with the aid of Tefnut, he destroyed the entire race. Afterwards, at the solicitation of Nou, he recreated them from the blood of the slain.³ Osiris was the child of Nut and Seb. He and Isis were twins, and wedded while yet in their mother's womb. Set and Nephthys is another pair from the same parentage. Osiris, from love for mankind, makes the circuit of the earth, scattering everywhere health and plenty. Set, that is, darkness, inspired with envy, or like Milton's Satan with ambition, pursues Osiris, puts him to death, cuts his body in pieces and scatters the pieces to the four winds. Isis watches for his return, wanders over the earth in search of the lost pieces and finds them. The Lamentations of Isis and her sister Nephthys over the death of the husband and brother is an impressive specimen of elegiac poetry.⁴ Since Osiris is divine, he cannot be holden of death, but rises, ascends into heaven, and comes back to earth no more. Horus, the midday sun, becomes the avenger of his father's murder, pursues and overtakes Set, mutilates his body as Set had mutilated the body of Osiris. There is nothing here so revolting as the mutilation of Ouranos by his sons.⁵

The monuments often represent three deities associated together. One idea expressed by these triads is that the Supreme Being exercises the

¹ *Od.*, xx. 7.

² Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*, chap. vii.

³ *Records of the Past*, vi. 103. *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, iv. 1 sq.

⁴ *Records*, ii. 117.

⁵ *Hes.*, *Theog.*, 180. For a full account of the Osiris myth see Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*; Naville's *Textes Relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*. A summary of this last work may be found in *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions* for 1884, p. 330 sq.

functions of the producer, the producing, and the produced; that is, he is at the same time father, mother, and child. This was their method of expressing the idea of self-existence. The same idea was suggested whenever the sun was represented as a bull, or called "the begetter of himself." What was meant was that the sun renews itself each day. They symbolized this idea by imagining a female deity, space, the reflex of the god from whom she receives the fructifying germ, who brings forth a son identical with his father. Every Egyptian nome had its local triad. At Thebes, it was Amun, Maut, and Khonsu; at Thinis, Osiris, Isis, and Horus; at Memphis, Ptah, Sekhet, and Nofre-Tmu; at Konossu, Mentou, Sati, and Aâmes. All the sons of the gods, Khonsu, Horus, Nefre-Tmu, and Aâmes, personify the rising sun. In the conceptions of the under-world the deities had been represented by two groups of conflicting gods. On the one side was Set, on the other Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, and Anubis. As Osiris was unable to protect his followers they were extricated from the dilemma by giving to Set Nephthys for a wife and Anubis for a son; thus the gods in Amenti were balanced; there was a triad on each side, and — the theologians were happy.

There is no evidence that the Egyptian priests attached any sacredness to the number three, for sometimes five and sometimes nine deities were associated together. They also appear in pairs, so that each god is accompanied by a goddess; sometimes by two goddesses. Thus we find Horus between Isis and Nephthys, and Noum between Sati and Anouke. The idea is that the sun is placed between two protectresses. The same idea is expressed by the diadem between two ostrich feathers, or the disk of the sun between two vipers (the *Uraeus*). Subordinate divinities frequently appear in fours, and if these are paired, instead of four, eight divinities are associated. Thus we have Mu and Tefnut, Nut and Seb, Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys, Horus and Hathor. Each one of these gods, considered as identical with the Supreme Being, can form another new type, from which shall emanate in turn, by the same process, still other secondary types.

The goddesses have two roles to play. They personify either the light of the sun at morning or evening, or else the space into which the sun has its birth in the morning, and into which it disappears at evening. With reference to the first role each one is called the "daughter of the sun;" with reference to the second, "the mother of the sun," because the perpetual succession of divinity resides in her. The goddess is only one aspect of the god himself; the reflex, or the complement of the idea which he symbolizes. She is the receiver in contrast with the begetter, or, which is the same thing, she is matter in contrast with creative power. Her head-dress bears the same insignia as his. At Dendera, Hathor plays the role of a god. There are even examples of a feminine Ra, and of ithyphallic goddesses. According to Manetho, when the deities who were supposed to have ruled Egypt before the historic kings were enumerated, their goddesses were not counted. In the list which Eusebius has verified¹ there are no goddesses. Isis, indeed, is mentioned, but only as the wife of Osiris. The fact is not recognized that she was the regent of Egypt after the death of Osiris, and no number is assigned to her. Mentu, Atmu, Mu, Nut, Osiris and Isis, Set, and Horus, are enumerated as "seven" divine rulers, with the number of years during which each reigned, but the years of the reign of Isis are not specified.

¹ Lepsius's *Aegyptische Götterkreis*, 168.

III. THE NATURE OF THE EGYPTIAN GODS.

The first glimpse one has of the Egyptian deities gives the impression of idol worship. It may be doubted whether Plutarch, Diodorus, or any of the Greek historians understood correctly the Egyptian religion. Every classical scholar remembers the fifteenth satire of Juvenal. Describing the gods of Egypt, he says:—

“Who knows not to what monstrous gods, my friend,
The mad inhabitants of Egypt bend?
While *these* the ibis piously enshrine
Those think the crocodile alone divine.
Others, where Thebes’ vast ruins strew the ground
And shattered Memnon yields a magic sound,
Set up a glittering brute, with uncouth shape,
And bow before the image of an ape!
Thousands regard the hound with holy fear;
Not one Diana; and ’t is dangerous here
To violate an onion, or to stain
The sanctity of leeks with tooth profane.”

Gifford’s Translation.

Of course no one now believes that a nation with the high civilization which the Egyptians had was accustomed to bow in worship to beasts, especially to such monstrous, fantastic, impossible beings as men with the heads of birds or of quadrupeds, a woman with a knot or a knife or an ostrich feather instead of a head, the body of a scarabæus, or a serpent with human legs. Can it be that a lion with the head of a man was ever supposed to be a real being, and worshiped as such? The Egyptians, at the time in which we are regarding them, showed themselves able to conceive of a God unapproachable, invisible, spiritual. Did such a people at the same time actually worship a hawk, a crocodile, or a cat? As well might we say that a large part of the Christian Church to-day worships the images of the Virgin Mary, of St. Peter, and of the crucifix; or that the symbolic language of the stock exchange implies the existence of bulls and bears there. What, then, was the use made of those strange forms so frequently repeated on the monuments? Did they represent divine attributes? They hardly seem to be fitly chosen to convey the idea of omniscience, eternity, or benevolence. They might express the specific acts of God, but very bunglingly his personal character. For instance, the mysterious bird Bennou was adorned with the title, “the King of all the Gods,” certainly not because it expressed the attribute of omnipotence or authority. We seek the explanation of that title in the fact that the bird brings back the soul to the dead Osiris, and thus symbolizes the resurrection. Perhaps the Egyptians thought they saw a correspondence between certain animals and certain acts of God. Perhaps they endeavored to establish a harmony between a species of animism, a worship of spirits, and their well-known conceptions of the Supreme Being. A tendency to mysticism always develops the mythical principle, always inclines men to represent a phenomenon of nature as the act of a person; so that there is no dividing line between myths and poetic imagery. It is not wise to speak dogmatically when we have no positive information. These animal forms were of ancient origin; they came down from a remote age, a prehistoric age, freighted doubtless with sacred significance. What their meaning was, we know not. It has been

suggested that the sun-god may be represented as a hawk, and as a man with the head of a hawk, because a resemblance was seen between the course of the sun through the heavens and the flight of that bird, or because of the power of its eye. It has been thought that the divine mother Isis nursing her son Horus bears the head of a cow because the function of nourishing is thus symbolized. The he-goat and the bull are supposed to be emblems of reproductive power, and to be employed, therefore, as symbols of the Creator. The worship of Apis at Memphis and of Mnevis at Heliopolis is one of the most remarkable features of the Egyptian religion. The question is, whether the sacred bull was regarded as one of a vast number of idols actually worshiped, or whether it was the living symbol of the god who brings life out of death by bringing light out of darkness. The fact that he always carries a golden disk between his horns is said to favor this latter theory. He is called the son of Ptah, because Ptah, the name given to the Supreme Being as the former, planner, and organizer of creation, in the shape of a sacred flame, a heavenly ray, impregnated the specially selected sacred cow, which remained nevertheless a virgin even after the birth of her divine son, and brought forth no second offspring. It does seem incredible that any one should associate this poetic conceit with the story of the horrid monster of the Cnosian labyrinth, demanding for his daily repast the bodies of the noblest youths and maidens of Athens.

The Sphinx must also be regarded as the emblem of the sun. In the Egyptian mind, from the earliest period, the lion was associated with the idea of light. That part of the eastern horizon from which the sun emerges is represented as supported by two lions. We read in the "Book of the Dead":¹ "O thou strong double lion who wearest the tall double plume, who rulest with thy scourge, thou art the generator, mighty by virtue of thy radiation." To what but to the sun can such words as these be applicable? Moreover, one of the words used for sphinx, *seshep*, means *to cause light*, and as a noun *the shining one*; ² as the Sanskrit *dyat*, from which comes Zeus, means *to beam*. The great Sphinx of Gizeh may suggest to modern travelers "the union of intelligence and power," may seem to be "an emblem of immobility," but nothing can be more certain than that its builders were guided by no such thought. They meant it for the image of Harmachis, the personification of the dead Sun coming to life, "the generator," that is, of himself, "mighty by virtue of his own radiation;" the one form of the Supreme Being which assimilates to itself all other solar forms, and is identified with Amun-Ra.³ Why this form was chosen to represent the god Harmachis no one now knows. We may "see visions and dream dreams," but this is not knowledge. The image of this Egyptian god set up in a Christian burial-place may signify a belief that there is "light" for the living and for the dead, but why the *Greek* Sphinx, the horrid monster whose death Œdipus secured, should be placed there is inexplicable.

It has been suggested that the deities are represented on the monuments in animal forms in order that they may appear to be secure against recognition and attack by Set; or perhaps because the principles of Egyptian art forbade that a divinity should be represented with a specific human countenance, just as a Hebrew is forbidden to pronounce

¹ Chap. 163.

² Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, No. 420. Brugsch, *Hieroglyph.-Wörterbuch*, p. 1313.

³ Chabas, *Choix de Textes*, p. 22.

the name Yahveh. Such was the artistic skill of the Greeks, such the liberty given them, that they could deviate from conventional forms. Yet in their earlier history even they had recourse to the lion-skin, to the dolphin, to the crescent, and to the eagle, in order to identify the figure of Heracles, of Aphrodite, of Artemis, or of Zeus. Perhaps for a similar reason Osiris appears at Memphis now as an ape, now as a giant, and now as a dwarf with two heads. At Heliopolis he has the head of the migratory bird Bennou. Was this idolatry? Does it prove that the Egyptians conceived of God as a monster? Or was it the method adopted in the childhood of the race to describe the operations of nature? Their custom was to personify material forces. Their nomina were their numina. Every object was to them a living reality. The sun, moon, and stars, clouds, storms, and lightnings were regarded as living beings. Most naturally, then, did the sun, in the perpetual renewal of its youth, dying each night and coming to life again each morning, symbolize the Supreme Being, self-existent, ever young, and hence eternal. The whole Egyptian theology resides in what may be called the solar drama. It is composed of many acts: the birth of the celestial being in the east; his diurnal course through the heavens; his disappearance in the west; his nocturnal passage through the lower regions; his appearance again in the east. In each act of this drama the god changes his name without changing his individuality. In the fifteenth chapter of the "Book of the Dead" a distinction is made and emphasized between the god and the manifestation of the god; between the being as the object of worship and the symbol of that being. We are expressly warned not to identify these. Ra, then, must not be confounded with the sun. He symbolized some functions of the sun, but he was not the sun itself, least of all was he the Supreme Being of whom the sun, in its mighty power and beneficence, seemed to be the emblem.

What is true of Ra is equally true of the ithyphallic god Aâmes, sometimes called Min and sometimes Khem. At Thebes he was identified with Ra, and in the Osirian mythology with Horus. Some have regarded the representations of this god as a gross offense against chastity. His worship in later times, perhaps, was so, but it may be doubted whether the childlike spirit of the primitive people was conscious of any offense. We may believe that their intention was simply to suggest that the youthful sun-god constantly renews himself by virtue of his own undying force. To say that God begets his father, and is the husband of his mother, was the Egyptian way of saying that he is uncreated.

We see, also, the solar nature of the god Set. He was identified with the Sutech of the Hycsos, and was only another form of the sun-god. He was the reverse of Horus as Melek was the reverse of Baal. At first he was loved and worshiped, and was called "the Lord of Heaven," but during the decline of the empire he became so hated that wherever his name had been inscribed on the monuments it was hammered off if possible. He was originally one of the cosmical deities, connected with the worship at Ombo, and thence called the god of the negroes; yet he is generally regarded as an Egyptian, not as a foreign god. He was the personification of the sun's desolating power; the god of earthquakes, of thunder and lightning, of tempests and pestilential vapors. As the emblem of darkness and night it was said that he swallowed the eyes of Horus. He became at length the evil principle in the moral as well as

in the physical world, the devil of Egyptian mythology. Then he was represented as an ape-headed deity, as a hippopotamus, as a crocodile, and even as a pig. Apepi was not identified with Set, but was the mythical name for cloud, as the enemy of the sun.¹

Osiris is the "soul of the sun," its ever-abiding vital power; not dying when the sun dies, but at night displaying himself in the constellation Orion, and in the morning uniting himself again with the revived body of the sun. The sun is twofold, benevolent and malignant. Osiris Un-nefer, "the good being," represents the beneficent power of the sun ever victorious over the powers of darkness (Set). This, the physical signification, remained even when the moral signification became predominant. Osiris was represented in a semi-human form, and as the author of natural life. He was the type of the good man, of the soul in its conflict with wrong. His victory over darkness and death became a pledge of human victory over all evil. The justified spirit took his name and became identified with him in the spirit world.²

Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, like Baal, was not so much a person as a class of divine powers. This is evident from the fact that each locality had its own Horus, and the word itself Har or Hor means the fruitful deity of the province. He was the symbol of eternal youth. His titles are: "the Old Man who becomes Young again;" "the Sole Begetter of his Father;" "the Holy Child;" "the Beloved Son of his Father;" "the Eternal One." In his relation to mankind he is called "Horus the Redeemer." He was associated with the daily journey of the sun from the moment when it appears in the eastern horizon till it disappears behind the Libyan hills. This journey and the struggle with darkness make up the life of the sun-god. Everybody has admired the Aurora as painted by Guido. The Egyptian Aurora would make a picture scarcely less beautiful. See the sun-god slowly liberating himself from the embraces of night. As soon as he appears in the east the living rays of his eyes penetrate and animate the whole earth. Not like Apollo in a chariot, but standing in his sacred bark, "the good bark of millions of years," enveloped in the folds of the serpent Mehen, the emblem of his course, he glides gently over the current of the celestial Nile, attended by an army of secondary divinities, in fantastic forms. Horus, with the head of a hawk, stands at the prow, fathoms the horizon with his eye, detects the enemy in the distance, and pierces him with his lance. Another Horus holds the helm. The Akhimou-Sekou,³ armed with long oars, propel the boat and keep it in the current. These are constantly recruited from pure spirits, and the kings of both Upper and Lower Egypt regarded it as an honor to be represented among their number. Sometimes the bark is towed by two jackals, called "the ones who open the roads." One opens for the light the road to the south, the other the road to the north.

The two eyes of the sun-god were supposed to share the office of

¹ M. Lieblein has defended with learning and ability the theory that Set was a Semitic deity, Osiris an Egyptian, and that the contest between them was at first a historic contest between the two nationalities. *Revue de l'Hist. des Rel.*, ix. 338.

² Neither Osiris nor any other Egyptian deity was a deified man. What appears to be historical in the myths is only symbolical. However extravagant the epithets applied to the kings they were known to be historical. There was a wide distinction between Pharaoh and Osiris, never obliterated or obscured. — Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in History*, iv. p. 332.

³ Chabas, *Choix de Textes*, p. 22.

illuminating the world. The left eye lighted the south, the right eye the north. With our scientific knowledge we can imagine the Egyptian sun-god hovering over the ecliptic, dividing into two equal parts the earth and the heavens. One part of his body is turned toward the north, the other toward the south. The allegory is also expressed by "the double Horus," "the double being," and the god represented as having two heads. One god says to a king of the XVIIIth dynasty: "I have given to thee the double force of the double Horus."¹ In the hieroglyphics the determinatives after the names of the gods, and the words which agree with them, are generally reduplicated. So the head-dress of the sun-god is composed of two parts: the white crown, the south, and the red crown, the north; and it is also ornamented with a viper (the Ureus) on each side, one representing the north, the other the south. They are the protectors of his two eyes. This dualism, so to speak, so symmetrical and ornate in a pictorial point of view, rules the entire Egyptian symbolism. Can it be that the Egyptians meant thus to signify the existence of gods in any modern sense of that word, that is, persons endowed with will, and conscience, and passions? Do not these symbols more naturally suggest the impersonal powers of nature, especially the functions of the sun?

Besides these animal representations, the divine being was symbolized by the celestial river, "the water of life." The Egyptians were so dependent on the Nile for all the comforts of life and even for life itself, the Nile was so interwoven with their pleasant memories and hopes, that the picture of a celestial Nile entered into all their dreams of heaven. They could not conceive of a perfect world without its river. On the current of this celestial Nile the bark of the sun was borne in its daily course.

The one thing which distinguishes the Egyptian religion from all other religions of antiquity, which gives it a character absolutely original, is that however polytheistic in appearance it was actually monotheistic. Polytheism is virtually a negation of God. God is one or there is no God. The Egyptians of the old kingdom believed in one God, without an equal. Were they at the same time polytheists, or was their polytheism merely symbolic? We are led to ask this question by the following facts: A tablet in Berlin, made during the XIXth dynasty, probably a copy of an older monument, calls Ra "the Only Living Substance," "the Only Eternal Substance," "the Only Begetter in heaven and earth who is not begotten." On a papyrus at Leyden he is called *ua en ua*, which Jamblichus translates: *πρώτος τοῦ πρώτου Θεοῦ*.² In a hymn he is called "the one God without a peer."³ In the "Book of the Dead" is a passage which Lepsius translates: "Ich bin Atmu, ein Wesen das ich eines bin;" and he refers to the similarly constructed sentence: "I and my Father are one." To this it may be added that the Egyptian word for god, *nuter*, never ceased to be a common name, never became a proper name. God is always the one god Ra, or the one god Ptah, or the one god Osiris. So far as we know they had no word which corresponds with the Hebrew Yahveh. Their Supreme Being was a distinct personality, well defined, with attributes, and numerous forms, but no name.⁴ In their sacred hymns there are two classes of divine titles:

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. p. 119.

² *Mysteries*, viii. p. 2.

³ *Records*, ii. p. 134.

⁴ Tacitus says that the Germans applied the names of the gods to that secret something which they perceived by reverence alone. *De Germania*, 9.

those which speak of his characteristics, his visible manifestations, or whatever happened to strike the imagination or attract the attention of a worshiper, as when it is said that Osiris and Isis were the offspring of Seb and Nou; then right by the side of these titles others are found which represent God as the one mysterious being who pervades the universe without being inclosed in it. The only reasonable solution of this riddle is that these innumerable names and strange forms are merely conventional and mythological; that all the types of deity were pressed into and absorbed by one supreme God.¹ The analysis of the divine functions, however extended, never in the least broke the primitive unity of the one divine substance. We too are accustomed to multiply the names and forms of God. We call him "The Almighty," "The Creator," "The Redeemer," and even "The Father of Lights" (Ra), but we do not multiply God. No more did this possibility enter the minds of the Egyptians. If we had no written language and were compelled to make a separate hieroglyph for each one of our divine names, possibly some future archæologist might regard the Christian religion as only a form of polytheism.²

Describing the nature of the Egyptian religion Jamblichus says: ³

"When the demiurgic intellect generates anything, or brings to the light the latent force of hidden causes, he is called in the Egyptian tongue Amun. When he is the one who accomplishes all things by means of his skill and verity he is called Ptah; and when he is effective of good he is called Osiris; and he has other appellations through other powers and agencies."

These deities were not adored indifferently by the whole country. There were as many forms of the one God as there were nomes in the Valley of the Nile. Atmu was the sovereign of Heliopolis, Aâmes of Koptos, Osiris of Thinis, Amun of Thebes, and Ptah of Memphis; but we find Amun extending the hospitality of his temple to Aâmes, Osiris, and Ptah, and they in return providing a place for Amun in their sanctuaries. Does not this custom of uniting in one worship the different forms of the deity show their substantial unity in one and the same person? Sevek of the Fayoum associated with Ra becomes Sevek-Ra. In the same manner we find Ptah-Sokari, and even Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Tanen. Behind these various divine powers, to whom they gave separate names and forms, they worshiped one "mysterious soul" ⁴ who they said had no name and no form. We do not know enough to deny that anybody ever worshiped one of these symbols or emblems, but there is evidence that, through the manifestation of these forms, at least some of the Egyptians "sought the Lord if haply they might feel after Him." Because he was not far from them, they found him, not by a process of reasoning, but by intuition. They spoke of him as begetting himself,

¹ "The Gods are all united in his body." *Denkm.*, iii. 249. *Dendera*, ii. 15 a.

² It has been objected that since the image of the god Khonsu was sent to Syria by Ramses XII. to cure the princess of Baktan, and was supposed to effect a miraculous cure, therefore the Egyptians did not believe that the unity of Ra prevented the existence of another God Khonsu. (See *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. 2, p. 91.) Thousands believe to-day that the Christian relics have effected miraculous cures. Do those thousands believe that those relics are veritable gods? It must be admitted, however, that toward the close of the XXth dynasty the Egyptian religion had become corrupt and polytheistic.

³ *Mysteries*, viii. 3.

⁴ *Records*, x., p. 143.

and as begetting other beings. It is said: "He creates his own members, which are the gods."¹ Within his own bosom are all the resources necessary to effect a perpetual creation. He is sometimes the father, sometimes the mother, sometimes the son of God. It is not always the son that proceeds from the father, but the father also proceeds from the son. Such language applied to personal deities, each with a separate will and consciousness, is nonsense, but if we contemplate it as applicable only to the personified forces of nature we are in a point of view to comprehend its meaning. It has been said that since father and son must partake of the same nature, if Apis was a bull his father Ptah must have been a bull too. Logically this is true, but is it true mythologically? Do we carry our scientific notion of heredity with its concomitants into our fables and poetic conceits? If we do and if we must, why would it not follow that if Ptah was a sun-god Apis must be a sun-god too?² Maspero has well said that "a multiplicity of divine forms may be logically incompatible with the oneness of God, but historically it is not incompatible." Might he not have added that diversity of form is compatible with oneness of nature? We are in constant danger of forgetting that the Egyptians did not mean by *God* what we mean. Their deities were not beings but powers; finite powers, it may be, or forces in nature personified; hence any one of them might have had a hundred different fathers and as many mothers.³ Possibly, too, the doctrine of emanation had its birth in Egypt hundreds of years before Zoroaster or the Neo-Platonists.

IV. THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES.

What were the attributes of their one God? On the walls of the temple of Dendera we read: "He has made all beings and all things. All that which lives was made by Him." On a tablet at Lyons it is said: "He is the former of all that which has been formed, but He himself was not formed." In "Les Maximes du Scribe Ani" we are told: "God is worshiped under the name of him who supplies bodies with souls." In the "Book of Respirations" are the words: "The soul of Ra giveth life to thy soul."⁴ Numerous passages of a similar nature may be found in the "Book of the Dead." Must they not refer to a Being who alone was the Creator?

An inscription on a tablet in the Louvre reads: "His existence extends throughout eternity. He always is." He is called: "The Author of Eternity, the Lord of the infinite duration of time."⁴ Elsewhere we read: "His existence extends through myriads of years." He himself says: "I am the Lord of ages who has no limit. I am an eternal substance. I am Atmu, made forever." It is said: "He is the regulator of millions of years."⁵ They believed, then, in his eternity.

In the "Harris Magic Papyrus" we are told that "He is the wonder of all sacred forms, which no one comprehends. He is the mystery of mysteries. Unknown in his mystery." "He is the mysterious soul who has made his own awful force."⁶ In modern speech we should say,

¹ *Book of the Dead*, xvii.

² Lepsius calls him "der heilige Sonnenstier." *Aegypt. Götterkreis*, p. 192.

³ Renouf, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 108.

⁴ *Records*, iv. 127.

⁵ *Book of the Dead*, chap. 62.

⁶ *Records of the Past*, x. 143.

He is incomprehensible. Again it is said: "He is present at Thebes, at Heliopolis, and at Memphis" (at the same time).¹ He is then omnipresent. "All that exists and that is non-existent is dependent on Him."² "I am Osiris, I do what my heart wishes. In the day of fire I quench fire, when it breaks forth." This implies omnipotence. Moreover the "Harris Magic Papyrus" contains many such expressions as these: "He hides himself in the sun," "He hides himself within his eye-ball," "His soul shines from his eye," that is, He conceals himself behind the dazzling brightness of the sun. He hides within the sun his essence. "His beams come from a face which is not known." "No one sees the great Being who is at Mendes."³ The Egyptian word Amun means "the Hidden One." The word Harmachis, the Greek form for the Egyptian Har-em-a-khou, means "the Lord of the double horizon," "the sun in the entire extent of its course," that is, the Supreme God, in all the perfection of his being and attributes, as represented by the mysterious Sphinx. God himself was unseen.

A hymn to Amun-Ra says:—

"Homage to Thee who growest young again;
Who givest birth to thyself anew each day.
Praise to Thee who shinest into the Nou,
Who givest life to all that Thou hast made,
Who hast stretched out the heaven
And enveloped with mystery its horizon.

Praise to Thee, Ra, who risest in due time,
Darting thy rays of life on every one that breathes.
Praise to Thee who hast made the gods,
Who thyself art unseen and whose image is unknown."⁴

V. THE EGYPTIAN THEORY OF DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

An Egyptian's account of the genesis of the world, briefly stated, would run as follows: The divine energy extended itself over the primordial chaos and drove it away. The Supreme Being said to the sun: "Come to Me," and the sun came and there was light. By his order also Shou levels the earth, and separates the waters into two distinct masses; one spreads over the surface of the soil and gives birth to river and ocean; the other hanging in the air forms the vault of heaven, the waters above the earth, on whose eternal current the sun and stars are borne. But by the very establishment of laws which regulate the harmony of the world, the Sovereign of the Universe aroused against himself the malevolent forces of nature. Their chief, whom the monuments represent under the figure of a long, sinuous serpent called Apepi, or in the Osirian system by a nondescript animal called Set, endeavored to annihilate the divine work. The battle was waged between the God of light, the luminous God, the fruit-producing God, the friend and benefactor of man, on the one hand, and on the other, by the sons of rebellion, the enemies of light and of life. It terminated, as was meet, to the advantage of the good deity, yet the results were not all decisive. The monsters were conquered and enfeebled, but not destroyed. They will

¹ Lepsius, *Denkm.*, iii. 246.

² *Book of the Dead*, xxii.

³ See *Book of the Dead*, xv. 46. Pierret, *Études Égypt.*, i. 6. Chabas, *Choir de Textes*, p. 22. Hymn to Amun, *Records of the Past*, ii. 127.

⁴ Maspero, *l'Hist. Ancienne*, p. 30.

continue to threaten the order of nature, the power which overwhelmed them.¹ In order to resist their destructive agencies the deity is compelled, so to speak, to create the world, himself included, anew each day. We are accustomed to assign this conflict to the realm of philosophy; the Egyptians assigned it to the realm of material nature. In their theology it was the light struggling with darkness, or the Nile with the desert, and they extended this conflict to all the affairs of men. Through it all, God was their friend. In the mythology of the Greeks there are sometimes contradictions, evidences of coarseness and impurity, even among the gods.² The Homeric Zeus is the author of intrigues, the instigator of feuds and factions in Olympus, the chief actor in the legend of Pandora.³ The gods of Egypt were not perfect. They did not always restrain the kings from acts of violence and oppression. Tyrants committed crimes against humanity in the name of their gods just as tyrants calling themselves Christians have done. Moreover a very high authority declared: "Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment: I am the Lord."⁴ Yet the Egyptians did sometimes appeal to God as though they believed in Him as the friend of man, the protector of justice and equity. In the prayer of the great Ramses in the Valley of the Kedesh just as he was going into battle against the Hittites, he appeals to Mentu-Ra, the god of war, using these memorable words:—

"What father ever denied his son? Have I done aught against Thee? Have I ever stept or staid without looking to Thee? Have I ever transgressed the decisions of thy mouth or gone astray from thy counsel?" Afterwards he says: "Ra heard when I called. He put out his hand to me. I was glad. He called to me from behind: 'Ramses Miamon! I am with thee, I, thy Father Ra. My hand is with thee. I am worth to thee a hundred thousand joined in one. Sovereign lord of victory, loving valor, if I find courage, my heart overflows with joy.'"⁵

What more biblical than the loving confidence of such an utterance as this?

"God turns his face toward me in reward for what I have done."

On the other hand, a papyrus in St. Petersburg says:—

"God knows the wicked; He smites the wicked even to blood." "Les Maximes du Scribe Ani" say: "Give thyself to God. Keep thyself continually for God, and let to-morrow be like to-day. Let thine eyes consider the acts of God; it is He who smiteth him that is smitten."

Yet the Egyptians were not disturbed by fears of a fitful, capricious God, an angry judge. One of their hymns runs thus:—

"Maker of beings, creator of existences,
Sovereign of life, health and strength,
Chief of all the gods,
We worship thy spirit which alone made us;
We whom thou hast made thank Thee that
Thou hast given us birth.
We give Thee praise for thy mercy shown us."⁶

¹ Chabas, *Choix de Textes*, p. 24.

² Herodotus, ii. 53. Xenophanes, *Séxt. Emp. adv. Math.*, i. 289; ix. 193. Euripides, *Ion*, 444, ed. Paley.

³ *Il.*, xiv. 317; xx. 20-32. Hes., *Theog.*, 571, etc.

⁴ Ex. xii. 12.

⁵ *Sallier Papyrus*, iii., p. 23. *Records*, ii. 69, 70. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii. 59.

⁶ *Records*, ii. 133.

Such passages as these might be multiplied indefinitely. Dr. Birch's translation of the "Book of the Dead" is full of them, and so are the "Records of the Past."

Obedience was enforced by rewards and penalties. The Egyptians believed in immortality,¹ but the character of that immortality hung on the results of a trial before Osiris in the spirit world.² The great god Osiris, "the Lord of Truth," is seated on his throne in the "Hall of Two Truths." He holds in his hands the sceptre and the flagellum, symbols of authority. His countenance is mild, but inflexible. Before him are sin-offerings; by his side are four mediators. The deceased, now called "the Osirian," holds up his hands in prayer, supported by Isis and Nephthys, each wearing on her head the emblem of truth. Ranged around the hall are the forty-two assessors whose duty it is to examine the candidate for heaven and report. A pair of scales is before the judge, over which attendant deities preside. In one scale is the heart, that is, the character of the deceased; in the other the image of the goddess of truth, Thmei, the Hebrew Thummim.³ Horus, the divine son and redeemer, pleads the merits of the deceased. Thot, the recording angel, inscribes his merits and demerits on tablets. If the sentence is favorable the spirit is pronounced *makeru*,⁴ and the "justified" or "persuasive" soul is admitted into life. In the "Book of the Dead"⁵ the prayer for him reads: "Let him go in! Ye know he is without soil, without sin, without crime." The "Book of Respirations" contains the following entreaty:—

"O ye gods that dwell in the Lower Heaven
Hearken unto the voice of Osiris; N.⁶
He is near unto you,
There is no fault in him,
No informer riseth against him,
He liveth in the truth,
He doth nourish himself with truth;
The gods are satisfied with all that he hath done,
He hath given food to thy hungry, drink to thy thirsty, clothes to thy naked;
He hath given the sacred food to the gods, the funeral repasts to the pure
spirits;
No complaint hath been made against him before any of the gods;
Let him enter then the Lower Heaven without being delayed.
Let him live, let his soul live,
Let his soul go wherever it desireth,
Living on the earth forever and ever." ⁷

But what of those who are not justified? On the sarcophagus of Menphthah Seti I. the soul of a wicked man is sent into a pig.⁸ Sometimes the soul is portrayed as taking refuge in the body of a ram. This doctrine of transmigration of souls naturally gave sanctity to animal forms. The human spirit after death was believed to assimilate its form to its

¹ "Thy soul liveth forever and ever." *Records*, iv. 126.

² *Book of the Dead*, chap. 125.

³ Professor Plumptre in *Smith's Bib. Dict.*, art. "Urim and Thummim."

⁴ See Devéria, *Papyrus de Neb-Qued*, Introduction, vi. note (1).

⁵ Chap. 125.

⁶ The letter N. currently stands for the name of the deceased.

⁷ *Records*, iv. 127.

⁸ This sarcophagus, now in the Sloane Museum, belongs to the early part of the XIXth dynasty.

own ideal. The condemned soul was permitted to begin again, perhaps at the bottom of the scale, and try once more. In the seventeenth chapter of the "Book of the Dead," the sinking of the sun into the western abyss, dying and sojourning with the god Atmu, is said to be a means of purification. The great "Hidden God" takes away all his impurities. The renewal of his body the next morning is a renewal of his radiance. The Egyptians were not slow to regard this thought as an emblem of the soul which, in dying, sunk into darkness and night, only to rise again some bright morning, purified and renewed.

This discussion has failed of its purpose if it has not shown that in Egypt, during the period when the purest art flourished and the highest civilization prevailed, one God was adored. Although in each nome he bore a different name and form, he was everywhere the same God, self-existent, eternal, invisible, unapproachable, and omnipresent; a mysterious spirit who created the world, and who by his omnipotence and benevolence governs it in equity. In answer to prayer this Good Being defends the right and by rewards and punishments, here and hereafter, promotes virtue and restrains vice. The Egyptians saw this God everywhere in the universe. They lived in Him and for Him. Their souls were full of his grandeur, their mouths full of his praise, their literature full of works inspired by his goodness. A large part of the manuscripts saved from the ruins of their civilization treat only of religious matters. Even in those which are devoted to secular subjects the mythological names and allusions are met on every page, almost in every line. Herodotus says: "They are religious to excess, far beyond any other race."¹ Their religion was reverent, spiritual, and practical. It inspired their art, literature, and heroism. It gave woman a higher position before the law and in society than she had in any other ancient nation. It made the name and influence of Egypt more enduring than her monuments. It brought peace and joy to their homes, consolation and hope to their hearts. Such a religion, fitly called by the dying Stephen "the wisdom of the Egyptians,"² contained doctrines and principles worthy to be imparted to the lawgiver of Israel. It must have had an influence on his belief and character. Imperfect it certainly was. Its faults are made familiar to us by the Book of Exodus. Moreover, all pictures of the Supreme Being must be unworthy of Him. It is not supposed that all the inhabitants of Egypt reached the same standard of religious sentiment and life, any more than do all the people of Catholic or Protestant countries. Yet it is the religion of the Egyptians which brings that wonderful nation nearer to us than do all their monuments. It shows that the people were not utterly abandoned by God, their worship a farce, or their whole life a mockery. It illustrates the increasing purpose which runs through the ages.

Lysander Dickerman.

BOSTON, MASS.

¹ Her., ii. 37.

² Acts vii. 22.

BOOK NOTICES.

TOD, FORTLEBEN UND AUFERSTEHUNG. Eine biblisch-apologetische Erörterung der letzten Dinge des Menschen [Death, Future Life, and Resurrection. A Biblical Apologetic Discussion of the Last Things]. Von Franz Splittgerber, Pastor zu Mützenow bei Stolp in Pommern. Vierte, mehrfach erweiterte Auflage. Pp. xx., 351. Halle: Verlag v. Julius Fricke. 1885.

BLICKE INS JENSEITS, oder d. Christliche Lehre vom Zustand nach dem Tode [The Christian Doctrine of the State after Death] dargestellt v. Hermann Werner, Pastor in Langenberg. Zweite, vermehrte u. verbesserte Auflage. Pp. viii., 182. Berlin: N. Verlag d. Deutschen Ev. Buch u. Tractat-Gesellschaft, Ackerstr. 142. 1885.

THE SPIRITS IN PRISON, and other Studies on the "Life after Death." By E. H. Plumptre, D. D., Dean of Wells. Pp. xii., 426. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 2 & 3 Bible House. 1884.

In *memoranda* left by the late Dr. Henry B. Smith are these significant and prophetic words:—

"What reformed theology has got to do is to Christologize predestination and decrees; regeneration and sanctification; the doctrine of the church; and the whole of the eschatology."

"Love is the deepest ground and last end of redemption. A love which works through and by the law and justice of God, satisfying and not annulling them; and by such satisfaction meeting the ends of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. Yet so—that this love flows through and irradiates and organizes all its parts, and its open face to the whole human race is that of divine grace! redeeming love."

The church has at last entered anew into the divine thought of a universal atonement, and of a Redeemer related by the constitution of his person to the race as a whole and to every member of it. On this basis it is Christologizing its eschatology. And the endeavor has necessarily resulted in a distinct and constantly widening recognition that it is impossible, either on grounds of textual interpretation, or drift of Scripture, or the nature of Christianity, or ethical reason, to abide by the dogma which restricts absolutely for all men the offer of redemption to the present life. The change in this regard which has been going on in Germany is faithfully recorded in the new and elaborate "Manual of the Theological Sciences" recently published by Dr. Zöckler, with the co-operation of a number of distinguished theologians and Biblical scholars of the positive evangelical type. Very many (*zahlreiche*) more recent representatives of this school of theology, is the careful statement of the editor, "affirm . . . a certain possibility of conversion in the future life, not indeed unconditionally for all, but when a definite decision for or against Christ could not be brought to pass in this life." . . . Dr. Cremer, the well-known author of the "Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek" published by the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh and now passing in the original through a fourth edition in Germany, has recently advocated this opinion in a book of which an account was given in this "Review" last October.

The two German works whose titles stand at the head of this notice afford important evidence in the same direction. When an opinion passes from theological treatises into works of practical piety, which are prepared by pastors for general use and are indorsed by denominational

newspapers or by benevolent publication societies, it may be fairly concluded to have become a common conviction and a part of the established Christian teaching. Our attention was called to Pastor Splittgerber's book by the opening sentences of a notice in a conservative evangelical German paper:—

"This valuable book, without doubt the best and richest of all which treat of the Last Things, appears here in a fourth edition. The honored author has thoroughly revised and improved his work. The theories of restoration, as well as of the final annihilation of the wicked and of development in the future life, are critically discussed. The author now inclines to accept a continued proclamation of salvation and purification in the other world, and denies this only in the case of those who die in faith."

No exception is taken by the writer to this position. On looking into the volume itself we find that its author states that his change of view on this question has been brought about, in connection with the influence of Dr. Dörner's System of Theology and Professor Cremer's book, by his "maturer examination and renewed investigation of the Scriptures." The proof-texts usually adduced for the older view are carefully examined, their measure of force candidly admitted, and then the Biblical arguments are stated which have led the writer to reconsider and change his position. He still abides by his previous belief that those who die in faith are at once made perfect in holiness, which, of course, does not exclude a sinless development and a consummation at the resurrection. The book discusses in a practical way all the leading questions respecting the future life.

The second work on our list is also written by a highly-esteemed and influential pastor. It has in addition something very like what Dr. A. A. Hodge seems to esteem so highly, namely, "the imprimatur" of a great religious body, for it is issued by the "German Evangelical Book and Tract Society." From a cursory examination we do not hesitate to pronounce it a work of decided merit, written in a style appropriate to the seriousness of its theme, with sober judgment and manifest dependence on the teachings of Scripture. Its subdivisions are: Immortality; Resurrection; The Intermediate State; The Judgment; Eternal Punishment; Eternal Life. Under the third head the writer considers the question of the destiny of those who in this world did not hear the gospel. He remarks:—

"It seems to us an inevitable conclusion: If God wills that *all* men should be saved (*geholfen*), and that *all* should come to the knowledge of the truth, and this salvation and truth are given *only in Christ*, then those who have not heard the gospel on earth, or without their fault were not spiritually moved by it, must experience this *after death*."

The argument for this hope from Biblical suggestions is powerfully presented, and the position taken is carefully guarded against any frivolous or unethical perversion. With Pastor Splittgerber he regards the state of departed believers as sinless, but also as one of spiritual development. He subscribes to Luther's thirteenth Thesis, which characterizes Death as "the last Purgatory." This, however, is not a magical purification, or a result of the mere separation of soul and body.

At death the eye of the spirit is turned within. The allurements and illusions of the world pass away. The soul sees itself as it is.

"Thus prepared it appears before the Lord, enters into the radiant splendor of his glory. The pure light of his majesty and holiness illumines it and pene-

trates, with holy awe, to its inmost recesses and depths. The mightiest horror of every sin, even the smallest, the most ardent longing for perfect purity overmasters it. All sin and delusion hitherto retained through error or weakness are now stripped off and joyfully sacrificed. And what the view of the divine holiness cannot accomplish is effected by the insight now acquired into the riches of mercy which open before the eye. The departed have believed in this mercy already on the earth, but they could not thus have thought of its incomprehensible depths. Now swells and rolls this sea full of love and grace before their enraptured vision, immeasurable, surpassing all understanding and expectation. As no fire is able, this experience burns, with purifying power, into the heart. It melts away the last remains of selfishness. Without reserve, in completest and purest devotion, they surrender their hearts to the Lord. To Him belongs every inclination and every thought. The last resistance is broken. It has fled before the light of the new world as the mist before the sun."

This is at least an attempt to give an ethical and spiritual explanation of the purification at death of believers, and it is noticeable how much is transferred to the opening experiences of the new life, while still the common opinion is maintained that "believers at death do immediately pass into glory."

Dean Plumptre's volume is made up in part of studies before published, but which it was well worth while to bring together. A number of essays are added, which treat of topics in eschatology which are now engaging special attention, such as: "The Old Testament in its bearing on the Life after Death;" "The Teaching of the New Testament as to the Life after Death;" "The Descent into Hell;" "The Salvation of the Heathen;" "The History of the Wider Hope in English Theology;" "Modern German Thought in its Relation to Eschatology;" "Prayers for the Dead;" "Conditional Immortality;" "The Word 'Eternal';" "The Activities of the Intermediate State."

Dr. Plumptre's reputation for sound scholarship and Christian feeling is so established that we need only mention the fact of the publication of these special "Studies" to commend them to our readers. From the historical portions of the volume the reader will readily learn what reason there is to anticipate in the near future an enlargement of the church's apprehension of the scope of redemption, and a modification through the influence of this conception of theories too narrow and unethical to have more than a temporary acceptance.

Dr. Whewell is said to have given this formula for the history of the advance of any science: It has three stages, namely, 1. The new view is absurd. 2. It is contrary to the Bible. 3. We always thought so.¹

We believe that in proportion as Christian brethren come to understand the modification of the older Protestant eschatology which it is receiving and has been receiving during the present century at the hands of some of its most able, reverent, and devout theologians, in the direction represented by the three works to which we have now called attention, they will find that what is new in this growth is rooted in their deepest convictions of the character of God, and harmonizes with their highest conceptions of the meaning and power of the Cross of Christ. We anticipate also that as this is more and more realized the entire missionary work of the church will gain in power and scope. The attempt to shut out new light because its acceptance implies indebtedness to for-

¹ Heard's *Old and New Theology*, p. x.

eign scholarship should receive the severest condemnation. He must be strangely ignorant of these times who has not discovered that scholarship is international. Theology should be the last of the sciences to become provincial, and Christ's kingdom is not a denomination nor a sect.

Egbert C. Smyth.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE. Bampton Lectures for 1884. By the Right Rev. FREDERICK TEMPLE, Lord Bishop of Exeter. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

These lectures are a candid, but not original nor profound discussion of the subject treated. They serve the purpose of indicating the point to which the reconciliation of science with religion has already come. They repeat what is now becoming so familiar, that clearly-defined boundaries run around the domain of the physical sciences, and that the moral and religious nature of man has convictions which cannot be brought under the control of necessity, and which are independent of the phenomenal world. To one who is in search of that which is ultimate, either for the material world or for the intellectual and moral nature, this book will give scanty satisfaction. Such an inquirer has long ago left behind the difficulties here dealt with. He readily admits that science must assume principles and laws which can never be proved experimentally, that widening knowledge of the processes of nature leaves its origin as mysterious as ever, and also that all men have the sense of freedom and of obligation. His questions go back to the reality of the outward world, the trustworthiness of knowledge, power to know the absolute, and the essential character of the moral sense. The bishop leaves off where these questions begin. But for another who has only a vague feeling of apprehension, who fears that the Bible is in danger, and that scientific facts and laws are crowding out spiritual reality, the book will be reassuring.

The key-note of reconciliation is in the fact that both scientific and religious thought carry us back to a Will working in nature and in man. Nature manifests force, and our conception of force is of the exercise of will, since we get the suggestion from our own energizing. And sense of duty, feeling of obligation, which we believe to be enforced by authority independent of ourselves, also means will. The chapter on Free Will is the best and most original. It is admitted that there is much uniformity in the action of man, that even within the sphere of his own choices character rapidly becomes fixed and constant. But while the range of human freedom is not as wide as has been claimed, it is still wide enough to give man large power over the world he lives in, and to make responsibility more than an illusion. However much uniformity there may be, science can never prove universality and necessity of the laws of human action.

As to evolution, the bishop contents himself with showing in one chapter that it does not invalidate the evidences of design, but rather shows design on a broader scale, and in another chapter that it only discovers the mode of development, but leaves the results as mysterious as ever. Neither the origin of life on the globe, nor the tendency to variation, nor the gap between man and animals is accounted for by evolution. The attempt is made to reduce evolution to its least significance, and to show that its hypotheses are unproved, rather than to indicate the contribution it makes to our knowledge of God's purpose in the universe.

The discussion of miracles traverses the accustomed ground. Science, which gets no farther than uniformity, can never, in the nature of the case, disprove miracles. The view that miracles may have been the employment of higher laws not known to the people who saw miracles and not yet known to us is not defensible. The miraculous power of Jesus was more than a superior knowledge of nature, to which other men may come later. It was a use of nature, probably in perfect harmony with its laws, but not possible to nature alone, nor to nature aided by man, but only to the touch of the finger of God.

The best characteristic of the book is the quiet confidence of its tone throughout. The writer is no longer disturbed by apparent antagonisms. He is sure that the sphere of science and the sphere of religion move in independent orbits, which, while not unrelated, are and ever must be on different planes.

George Harris.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

W. F. Draper, Andover. The Book of Esther, A New Translation. With Critical Notes, Excursuses, Maps and Plans, and Illustrations. By the Lowell Hebrew Club. Edited by Rev. John W. Haley, M. A., author of "Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible," and of "The Hereafter of Sin." 8vo, pp. 200. 1885. \$1.50; — Discourses on some Theological Doctrines as related to the Religious Character. By Edwards A. Park, D. D. 8vo, pp. x., 390. 1885. \$2.50.

Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, Boston. Normal Studies for Sunday School Teachers. Prepared under the Direction of the International Normal Committee: (1.) Primer of Christian Evidence. By R. A. Redford, M. A., LL. B., Professor of Syst. Theol. and Apologetics, New College, London, author of "The Christian Plea against Modern Unbelief," etc., etc. 16mo, pp. 108. 1885; (2.) The Bible: The Sunday School Text-Book. By Alfred Holborn, M. A., Lond. 16mo, pp. xx., 141. 1885; (3.) The Young Teacher: An Elementary Hand-book of Sunday-school Instruction. By Wm. H. Grover, B. Sc. Lond., author of "The Sunday-school Teacher's Manual," etc. 16mo, pp. viii., 133. Each 75 cents.

D. Lothrop & Co., Boston. Illiteracy and Mormonism. A Discussion of Federal Aid to Education and the Utah Problem. By Henry Randall Waite, Ph. D., Statistician Tenth United States Census in charge of inquiries relating to Education, Illiteracy, etc.; Fellow American Statistical Association; Secretary Interstate Commission on Federal Aid to Education. 25 cents.

N. J. Bartlett & Co., Boston. Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students. Edited by Rev. Marcus Dods, D. D., and Rev. Alexander Whyte, D. D. Palestine — By Rev. Arch. Henderson, M. A. Pp. 221. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. \$1.00.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Paradise Found. The Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole. A Study of the Pre-historic World. By William F. Warren, S. T. D., LL. D., President of Boston University, Corporate Member of the American Oriental Society, etc., etc. With Original Illustrations. 16mo, pp. xxiv., 505. 1885. \$2.00; — American Statesmen. John Marshall. By Allan B. Magruder. 16mo, pp. viii., 290. 1885. \$1.25; — The Diplomatic History of the War for the Union, being the Fifth Volume of the Works of William H. Seward. Edited by George E. Baker. Royal 8vo, pp. viii., 626. 1884.

Universalist Publishing House, Boston. Universalism; A brief Statement of the Universalist Belief. By Rev. H. R. Nye. Pamphlet, 16mo, pp. 46.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. The Earth as Modified by Human Action. A last Revision of "Man and Nature." By George P. Marsh. 8vo, pp. xxiv., 629. 1885. \$3.50; — Lectures on the English Language. By same. First Series, Revised and Enlarged Edition. 8vo., pp. xv., 583. 1885. \$3.50; — The Origin and History of the English Language and of the Early Literature it embodies. By same. Revised Edition. 8vo, pp. xv., 574. 1885. \$3.50; — Ecclesiology. A Treatise on the Church and Kingdom of God on Earth. By Edward D. Morris, D. D., Professor of Syst. Theol. in Lane Theological Seminary. Royal 8vo, pp. iv., 187. 1885. \$1.75; — Personal Traits of British Authors. Scott, Hogg, Campbell, Chalmers, Wilson, De Quincey, Jeffrey. Edited by Edward T. Mason. With Portraits. 12mo, pp. vi., 325. 1885. \$1.50; — History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff. Vol. iv., Mediæval Christianity. From Gregory I. to Gregory VII. A. D. 590-1073. Pp. xiii., 799. 1885. \$4.00.

Scribner & Welford, New York. The Question of Questions: Is Christ Indeed the Saviour of the World? By Rev. Thomas Allin. 12mo, pp. 215; — Paying the Pastor. Unscriptural and Traditional. By James Beaty, D. C. L., Q. C., M. P., ex-Mayor of Toronto, Canada. 16mo, pp. xiv., 206; — The Life of St. Paul. By Rev. James Stalker, M. A. New Edition. 16mo, pp. 240; — The Life of Jesus Christ. By Rev. James Stalker, M. A. New Edition. 16mo, pp. 235; — Encyclopædia of Theology. By Dr. J. F. Rábiger, Ordinary Professor of Evangelical Theology at the University of Breslau. Translated, with Additions to the History and Literature. By the Rev. John MacPherson, M. A., Findhorn. Vol. i., 8vo, pp. 430. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street; — Revelation; its Nature and Record. By Heinrich Ewald, late Professor in the University of Göttingen, author of "The History of Israel," "Prophets of the Old Testament," etc. Translated from the German by the Rev. Thomas Goadby, B. A., President of the Baptist College, Nottingham. 8vo, pp. 482. 1884; — Old and New Theology. A Constructive Critique. By Rev. J. B. Heard, A. M., author of "The Tripartite Nature of Man," etc. 12mo, pp. xx., 364.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. Revelation: Universal and Special. By the Rev. William W. Olssen, S. T. D., Professor of Greek and Hebrew, St. Stephen's College, New York, author of "Personality." 16mo, pp. 259. 1885. \$1.25; — Inspiration. A Clerical Symposium on "In what sense, and within what limits is the Bible the Word of God?" By the Ven. Archdeacon Farrar, Principal Cairns, Prebendary Stanley Leathes, Rev. Edward White, and others. Pp. 242. 1885. \$1.50.

E. & J. B. Young & Co., New York. The World as the Subject of Redemption; being an attempt to set forth the functions of the Church as designed to embrace the whole race of mankind. Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in the year 1883, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury. By the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Fremantle, M. A., Canon of Canterbury and Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford. Pp. xx., 443.

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. The Religion of Philosophy; or, The Unification of Knowledge. A Comparison of the Chief Philosophical and Religious Systems of the World. Made with a view to reducing the Categories of Thought, or the most general terms of existence, to a single principle, there, by establishing a true conception of God. By Raymond S. Perrin. Pp. xix., 566. 1885. \$4.00.

Phillips & Hunt, New York. Anthè. By Mrs. G. W. Chandler. Pp. 272. 1885. \$1.00; — The Hallam Succession. A Tale of Methodist Life in Two Countries. By Amelia E. Barr. Pp. 310. 1885. \$1.00.

Pamphlet. The Bible: An Unveiling of that which is Eternal. A Sermon preached in the Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, New York. By the Rev. James H. Ecob, D. D., Pastor of the Church.

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